

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society---W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 1.

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1838.

VOL. I.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NATIONAL REFORMER,

To be published in Philadelphia by the Board of Managers of the American Moral Reform Society. WM. WHIPPER, Editor.

Our object in establishing the *National Reformer* is to disseminate the principles, and measures of the *American Moral Reform Society*. For the want of an organ, devoted exclusively to the support of the doctrines we maintain, our objects have been grossly misunderstood. We do not lay claim to the establishment of any new principles, but only advocate the practical fulfilment and universal application of those that are already acknowledged by the friends of equal rights and impartial justice. We do not enter the arena against any periodical, whose principles of moral right are based on republican equality. We design to occupy a sphere in the moral reformation of this age and country, that has but partially claimed the attention of those that have preceded us. So far as our limits will permit, we shall endeavor to give a vigorous support to the cause of human rights.

The size of the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal octavo, and published monthly, at \$1.00 a year in advance; six copies for \$5.00.

All communications should be addressed, post paid, to JOHN P. BURR, chairman of the board, No. 113 South Fifth street.

JOHN B. ROBERTS has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations and subscriptions for the *Reformer*.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Fellow Citizens,—In presenting to you our claims for the establishment of a new periodical, devoted to the interests of the oppressed, a "decent respect for public opinion" requires us to distinctly state the motives that impel us to the undertaking. We are now in the incipient stage of a great moral revolution, that is undermining creeds, annihilating customs, dethroning empires, and governments that have been reared in iniquity, and establishing others in their stead, on the broad elementary principles of righteousness,

justice, and humanity. To aid in forming this noble superstructure for the glory of earth, and honor of heaven, it is the duty of all cheerfully to participate.

The reigning spirit of conquest, throughout the world in past ages, have been formed in enmity, pursued in hatred, inflamed by passion, and consummated in blood. The present contest will be for the triumph of just principles, and the dominion of reason. The weapons will be ungarnished truth—the panoply *love*, and the spirit *peace*. The superiority of *moral* over *physical* force,—and *intellectual* power over *brutal* sagacity, will be plainly demonstrated to the most obtuse vision. The principles of liberty, and the right of all men to enjoy an equal protection under the governments they live, will be fairly canvassed.

Our country stands eminently renowned for her many virtues, while she is overshadowed by *bold* and *daring* vices. The people of this nation have been born heirs to a "freedom and happiness" they have never enjoyed, because the spirit of despotism, has willed it otherwise. To overthrow this enemy of humanity, and transplant the spirit of the pilgrim fathers, will be to bestow true glory, honor, wealth, and renown on our nation's character. This achievement is intended for the happiness of all—then let all come to the rescue.

The diligent observer already sees that the seed of this great revolution is already thrown broadcast, on the waves of time—the spirit of conquest is on the wings of the wind. Christianity is no longer confined to local domains, but has erected her standard for the subjugation of the world, throughout the immaculate space of its author. Moral power stretches itself beyond state lines and continental boundaries, and aims at circumnavigating the globe. Governments and institutions are but the offspring of the human mind, and the creatures of society, and will become purified and regulated by the Christian and moral power of the country in which they exist. The subject of *RIGHTS* and *DUTIES*, will claim our especial attention.

We maintain that *both* are original bequests of God to man, antecedent to the formation of human governments; and cannot be *invalidated* by them; nor can we be deprived of

their benefits, without the exercise of human power being directed against the *decrees* of the ALMIGHTY. Therefore, when our *rights* are *invaded* by human governments; earthly tribunals, penal codes and enactments, we will appeal to them to remove the unjustifiable source of oppression. If we fail in the attainment of our object, we will transfer our appeal from the governments of earth, to the government of Heaven—from human codes to the code of the living God—from the arbitration of *men* to the arbitration of *angels*, and await the decision of the ALMIGHTY. We believe this to be strictly in accordance with the apostolic injunction of "obeying the powers that be."

We maintain that *moral duties* are imperative obligations from man to his MAKER, and to his fellow beings, that cannot be changed by *worldly expediency*, or the *fiction of circumstance*. That having descended from one common *parent*, we should consider ourselves as children of the same family. That in our reciprocal duties to each other, we should never be guided by national or complexional preferences. That the "heathenish spirit of caste," ought at *once, now and for ever*, be abolished; and that the first and highest impulse of human duty ought to be exerted in aid of the oppressed.

Therefore, we believe that the cardinal principles of our Society, viz., *Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty*, if properly carried out, will prove a powerful auxiliary in producing this necessary *reformation*, on which rests the Christian's hope. They are now producing wonders in our country, under distinct and specific organizations. They are adhesive virtues, and as capable of uniting with each other as a like number of seas are of commingling their waters, and forming one great ocean. If this mighty current of philanthropy could become united into one living stream, it would soon sweep from our country every vestige of misery and oppression. And is it not as necessary that it should be so, as that a single mind should embrace these principles alone? Our country is rich with the means of resuscitating her from moral degeneracy. She possesses all the elements for her redemption; she has but to will it, and she is FREE. It is for the support of these principles we solicit your patronage. We do not ask for the abandonment of a single enterprise for the promotion of human good. We hope that all may be guided by a zeal "according to knowledge" for our country's welfare, and our nation's honor.

PHILADELPHIA, August 14, 1838.

The *Second Annual Meeting of the Moral Reform Society*, was held at the Second Presbyterian Church, in St. Mary's street, between Lombard and South, and Sixth and Seventh streets. The Society was organized at ten o'clock, A. M. The president, James Forten, sen., took the Chair; prayer was offered by the Rev. Charles W. Gardner, chaplain of the Society. James Forten, jr., recording secretary, then read the Constitution, and Declaration of Sentiment. The roll being called, the delegates and members took their seats. The president made some brief and appropriate remarks on the subject of Moral Reform, together with a touching appeal to the young men present; remarks were also made by a number of the members. After which, on motion of J. M'Crummill, it was

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to furnish and present to the Society such business as would be suitable for their consideration and action.

Whereupon, Messrs. J. C. White, Thomas Butler, and J. M'Crummill, were chosen.

On motion, the meeting adjourned to meet at three o'clock, P. M.

Tuesday Afternoon, August 14.—Prayer by the Rev. Daniel Scott. Constitution read. Roll called, and the minutes of the morning session read. The secretary then read the Second Annual Report of the Society.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE AMERICAN MORAL REFORM SOCIETY.

Brethren and Friends:—The board of managers, in presenting their Second Annual Report, regret that they have nothing very flattering or encouraging to lay before you. In reviewing the past year, we have only to lament how little has been done to advance the great principles of our Society. Many obstacles have impeded our progress; but the most formidable have been a want of zeal and exertion on our part. We have none of us realized, as we ought, the immense importance of the work in which we are engaged; we do not seek the reformation of our own immediate neighborhood only, or even of our state. Our aim is a mighty one; taking as we do so elevated a stand, and embracing in our expansive benevolence the whole nation, a mighty field of labor is before us; and it behooves us to ask the important question, whether this Convention are ready for this gigantic enterprise? and, if so, what they will do in furtherance of the work? The board earnestly recommend that some defi-

nite plan of operation be laid down, in which the different cities, towns, and villages, wherever our brethren reside, may take a part. The design is so vast, and seems to require action on so large a scale, that many who approve our views, yet disheartened at the magnitude of the undertaking, and despairing of its success, decline to unite with us. But should some well arranged and simple plan be adopted, in which all can bear a part, the board have no doubt but that much good would result, and the benefits of such associations be visible to all men.

The board also indulge the hope that the Convention will devise some method of raising funds. Without this powerful auxiliary, all our meeting together will be in vain; your recommendations cannot be carried into effect; and, however wise and judicious the plans may be which you are about to adopt, they will come to nought, unless means are furnished for carrying them into operation. An agent, with a suitable salary, might be profitably engaged in this city, in promoting the cause of temperance, economy, &c. among our brethren, especially in those neighborhoods where vice and immorality abound. The call on us to do something in this way is imperative; if people see that we are industriously and unceasingly striving to elevate ourselves here—fearlessly breasting the strong tide of proscription, in hopes that better prospects will attend our future path, it will actuate them in other places to follow our example, and they will be willing to sustain us in this our effort to do good. Having endeavored briefly to point out what should be done, the board considers it their duty to lay before you their proceedings during the past year, (see statement *A*.) with the hope that God will still continue to extend his powerful arm over us, that he may continue to smile approvingly upon our exertions to spread throughout the world the mighty and eternal principles of Moral Reform. The statement, (marked *B*.) annexed to this report, will show the amount of receipts and expenditures during the past year.

In behalf of the board of managers of the American Moral Reform Society.

JOHN P. BURR, *Chairman*.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE VIGILANT COMMITTEE OF PHILADELPHIA.

August 1, 1838.

The Vigilant Committee of Philadelphia respectfully report, that their labors for the past year have been abundantly blessed, notwithstanding their organization is but new;

and, as a matter of course, their want of experience in the various duties to be performed, the great difficulty in procuring funds to carry out their objects, has operated materially against them, yet they have suffered none of these obstacles to deter them from lending a helping hand to the poor and oppressed, and they rejoice to say that, with Divine assistance, they have been made the instruments of placing many of their down-trodden brethren beyond the reach of oppression; and while your committee would tender their unfeigned thanks to those who have contributed their mite towards alleviating the distresses of the oppressed, and assure them that the means they have furnished have been properly applied, (as we shall endeavor to show in this report,) we must be allowed to state, though we much regret it, that our applications for aid in this patriotic and philanthropic cause, are often rejected with disdain, and your committee treated with contempt. They have not, however, been deterred from rendering assistance to all cases which have come under their notice; none have been refused in the hour of need, none have been sent empty away, although the funds of the Association have at no time, since our organization, been sufficient to defray the expenses incurred; consequently, the committee have been largely taxed in order to render that aid, without which many urgent cases must have been unattended to. We are constrained to make this statement, not for the sake of praise, but that you may see the necessity of more concert of action by the public, that we may be better enabled to carry out the object of our institution, as the committee cannot, in future, feel themselves justified in making the same sacrifice that they have made the present year. That you may not suppose that the committee have not applied to the public for aid, we beg leave to state, that we have made appeals to the public through the columns of the *National Enquirer*, and by other methods; we have also appointed several agents, but without success. All sympathise with the oppressed, but few are found to extend their sympathy so far as to effect their pockets.

We do not mean to infer that the whole mass of the professed friends of the oppressed are thus indifferent to the calls of suffering humanity; we believe that there are many noble hearts that would haste to the rescue of the afflicted and the unfortunate of our race,—many who feel for their brethren in bonds as bound with them,—but have had no knowledge of our institutions; the best channel of access to the public is, in a measure, closed against us,—namely, the church. We are, however, making an effort to gain access. An opening is already made,—when this is thoroughly accomplished, and our claims made known to the public from the pulpit, we shall, no doubt, find the greater part of the community respond to our call, and your committee relieved from the burthen which they have so long endured. Upon the public depend, in a great measure, whether or not our operations shall be conducted with the same success which has attended them the present year. If your committee are sustained, they are still willing to give their money and their services, but it is a duty they owe themselves to say, that the burthen now laid on them they are unable longer to bear. Our Association, at the present time numbers about thirty persons, and we are plain in saying that not more than one half of that number have contributed over twenty-five cents within the year, thus leaving ten or twelve members to support the institution. The only church collection received by the committee, was from the Zoar church, in the Northern Liberties; and, although the collection was small, it evinced in them a disposition to aid the cause; and so much interest is felt by that church that they have solicited us to hold another meeting. A small collection has also been received through the hands of Leaven Silman, a minister of the Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church, contributed by his class. We are pleased, also, to acknowledge a collection from the Mechanic Society, made at their annual meeting, and a collection by a subscription paper, given by your committee

to Mr. Corr; this collection amounted to \$8.93, and is the largest received from any source,—the ladies excepted. To them we are greatly indebted for the means of carrying on our benevolent scheme, and to them we still look with unshaken confidence for support in time of need. From the recent movement of the ladies, in forming a society auxiliary to the Vigilant Association, we have much to expect, knowing, from past experience, that they are never found wanting in a good cause,—and that what they do, they do with all their might.

Your committee have the pleasure of announcing to the Association and the public, that they have rendered assistance to about one hundred cases since the first of August last; and here we would do injustice to the Female Vigilant Association, did we conceal the fact, that since their organization they have labored jointly with us in the prosecution of our efforts to relieve the distressed. Your committee received from various sources one hundred and thirty dollars, sixty-five cents. With this small sum we have stated one hundred cases have been relieved, averaging \$1.30 for each. This statement, to some not accustomed to our mode of doing business, may seem improbable; and in this place it will not, we conceive, be amiss to state, that no member of the committee, either male or female, have, in any instance, received any compensation for services rendered, but, on the contrary, have given their money and their time, besides paying out of their own pockets incidental expenses.

The committee have thought proper to observe the anniversary on this day, and have selected the Rev. Chas. W. Gardner to deliver an appropriate address, laying the claims of the Associations, both male and female, before the public. It remains to be seen whether or not Philadelphians will sustain the Vigilant Association, and thus contribute to restore the bondman to freedom.

JAMES M'CRUMMILL, *President.*

Jacob C. White, *Secretary.*

STATEMENT A.

A Statement showing the progress and present state of the Colored Population, so far as heard from, by the Board of Managers of the American Moral Reform Society, for their Second Annual Report, August, 1838.

Name of state, town, &c., which have complied with the circular of 1837 and 1838.	No. of Churches.	Clergymen.	Day Schools.	Teachers.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath School Teachers.	Bible Classes.	Literary Societies.	Debating Societies.	Mutual Relief or Benevolent Societies.	Moral Reform Societies.	Temperance Societies.	Dealers.	Mechanics.	Real Estate, Taxes, Rents, &c., &c.	Colored Population.	Paupers, &c.	Criminals, &c.	Corresponding Members.
Massachusetts. New Bedford.	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	2	\$ 100,000	894	Few.	Few.	Nathan Johnson.
Rhode Island. Providence.	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	12	25,000	1400	9	6	Alfred Nizer.
New York. Buffalo.	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	4	21	25,000	500	3	2	Abner H. Francis.
" Troy.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	3	7,000	350	18	3	Daniel A. Payne.
" Utica.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	120,000	200	2	3	George L. Brown.
New Jersey. Poughkeepsie.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	3	23,397	294	2	12	Nathan Blount.
" Trenton.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	325	450	Few.	Few.	George McMullen.
" Salem.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	14,796	82	Few.	Few.	C. Valentine.
" Greenwich.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	80	190	1	1	Jesse Gould.
" Bridgetown.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	10,000	82	Few.	Few.	John Freeman.
" Woodbury.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	25,000	190	1	1	Joshua Woodlan.
" Burlington.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	9	95,000	2400	3	3	John P. Burr.
Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.	15	34	21	10	17	125	4	1	3	64	2	6	Many.	80	1,350,000	25000	Few.	Few.	L. Woodson, W. J. Greenly.
" Pittsburg.	2	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	2	6	Many.	4	1,350,000	2400	3	3	William Goodrich.
" York.	2	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	2	6	Many.	4	1,350,000	2400	3	3	Abraham D. Shad.
" West Chester.	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	12,150	320	11	11	Henry Butler.
" Gettysburg.	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	15,000	290	11	11	William Whipper.
" Columbia.	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	20,000	600	Few.	Few.	William Brewer.
" Wilkesbarre.	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	20,000	80	Few.	Few.	T. W. Adams.
Delaware. Wilmington.	3	7	3	3	3	30	1	1	1	5	2	6	20	Several.	Unknown.	6200	Few.	Few.	John F. Cook.
District of Columbia.	10	10	6	7	6	401	1	1	1	7	2	3	4	43	109,000	4500	3	12	George Cary.
Ohio. Cincinnati.	3	12	2	3	3	401	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	43	109,000	4500	3	12	George Cary.
" Columbus and 20 counties in the state of Ohio.	22	4	19	3	3	401	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	43	109,000	4500	3	12	George Cary.
Indiana. Lawrenceburg.	22	4	19	3	3	401	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	43	109,000	4500	3	12	George Cary.
Tennessee. Nashville.	22	4	19	3	3	401	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	43	109,000	4500	3	12	George Cary.

NOTE.—Agents and Correspondents, or persons who communicate with the Board of Managers, will please, in rendering their Quarterly or Annual Reports of the condition, &c., of our people, comply with the above form, and make their returns promptly and more full.

Richard Moran.
Reuben P. Graham.

STATEMENT B.

Exhibiting the Amount of Receipts and Expenditures of the Board of Managers for the past year, 1837, and 1838.

THE AMERICAN MORAL REFORM SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

DR.

Cash collected, and paid for printing,
&c., \$65 50

The committee appointed to furnish business for the Society, presented the following report, which after a very animated debate was accepted, and laid over for future action.

REPORT.

Your committee, appointed at the morning session of the American Moral Reform Society, respectfully report, that upon mature consideration they deem it unnecessary to call your attention to any new resolutions, believing that all our energies should be directed at the present time to carrying out in the best possible manner the resolutions which are now on our published minutes, and which have not been carried into effect; we would, therefore, call your attention to the minutes of the last meeting of this Society, and suggest that they be taken up, regularly acted upon, and properly disposed of, before any other business is introduced.

We are of an opinion that the first thing on the minutes claiming your attention is the report of William Brewster—see minutes of Tuesday morning, August 15th, 1837, and minutes of Friday, August 18th, 1837.

Your committee would respectfully submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Society take immediate measures, for the support of a paper which shall be its organ, and the board be instructed to carry the same into execution.

JACOB C. WHITE,
THOMAS BUTLER,
JAMES MCCRUMMILL, } Committee.

On motion of Stephen H. Gloucester, it was *Resolved*, That the rules of the Third Annual Convention be adopted as the rules of the present session.

Several interesting communications from Gettysburg, Cumberland, Cincinnati, Boston, and Poughkeepsie, were read to the meeting; and on motion of James Forten, jr., were received. As the report of the business committee called for the consideration of the resolutions under August 15th, 1837, it was again brought up, and continued to be discussed with much interest, by Messrs, White, Gloucester, Whipper, Har-

ris, and others; the Society still being unwilling to receive it, it was again laid over.

On motion of S. H. Gloucester, and seconded J. Forten, jr., it was

Resolved, That a committee of ways and means be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of procuring an agent, to raise funds to aid the objects of this Society. The following persons were appointed that committee: James Bird, S. H. Gloucester, William Whipper, Edward Ellesby, and Andrew Harris.

Adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock, Wednesday morning.

Wednesday morning, August 15.—The meeting was called to order. Prayer by the Rev. C. W. Gardner. James Bird, on behalf of the committee of ways and means, asked leave for further indulgence, until the afternoon.

The resolution reported by the committee on business, relative to the support of a press, which shall be the organ of this Society, after being ably supported by Messrs. White and McCrummell, was unanimously adopted. After several speeches from many of the members and delegates, in relation to the business then before the Society, it was

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to co-operate with the board, for the purpose of carrying the last resolution into effect. Messrs. White, Bias, and Purvis, were appointed the committee.

Wednesday afternoon, August 15.—Prayer by Mr. Andrew Harris. The president in the chair.

The committee on ways and means, then presented their

REPORT.

The committee appointed to prepare something for the action of the Society, present the following resolutions for your action, viz.:

Resolved, That a general agent be appointed to travel, lecture, and form Societies; and impress upon parents the importance of educating their children, collect funds, and carry out the principles of the Society.

Resolved, That in order to secure the labors of such an agent forthwith, the members of this Society pay a sum not less than twelve and a half cents, in addition to annual contribution.

Resolved, That we recommend that the labors of the agent be, for the present, confined to this city.

Resolved, That the city be divided into districts by the board, and each family be called upon for aid, the sum required not to exceed two cents per week.

Resolved, That the control of the moneys, and the direction of the general agent, be confided to the board of managers; also that the board have power to remove the said agent if they see fit, and supply the vacancy until the next meeting of the Society; and further, to appoint sub-agents, when the cause in their view may require, and the funds will admit.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to call upon delinquent members to pay the demands against them, and report to this meeting at a time specified.

Messrs. Gloucester, McCrummill, and Harris were appointed that committee.

(Signed) JAMES BIRD,
WM. WHIPPER,
S. H. GLOUCESTER, } Committee.
ANDREW HARRIS,
EDWARD ELLESBY, }

The foregoing resolutions were received and taken up, and after considerable debate were unanimously adopted.

Some very interesting reports, from various counties in Ohio, were read by the secretary, which placed their prospects in a bright and luminous light; and bids fair, at no distant day, to secure to them the rights and immunities of the most favored citizens. The farther particulars will be published at a future period. For statistics, see statement A.

Adjourned to meet on Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock.

Thursday morning.—Meeting called to order by the president. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gardner. A highly interesting, and deeply impressive communication from Junius C. Morel, of Harrisburg, was read to the meeting, and on motion of J. McCrummill was accepted.

On motion of S. H. Gloucester, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed from each place represented, to nominate an agent to carry out the objects of the first resolution of the committee on ways and means; this motion after much debate, was adopted. The following constitute the committee: Andrew Harris, Vermont—John Adams, Delaware—Joshua Woodlin, Burlington, (N. J.)—D. Yates, Salem, (N. J.)—Mordecai Wolf, Louisiana—Henry Butler, Pennsylvania—D. George, Pennsylvania—James Bird, Daniel Colley, and J. McCrummill, Philadelphia.

On motion of S. H. Gloucester, it was

Resolved, That the order of this afternoon session, at 4 o'clock, be for the election of officers for the ensuing year, and that the committee on agents, report to-morrow morn-

ing at 11 o'clock. The following resolutions of Mr. Brewer, not acted upon last year, were on motion of J. McCrummill again called up:

Resolved, That we recommend to our people the propriety of forming and sustaining Societies for the mutual instruction of both young and old, in the branches of a good English education, and the mechanic arts, in every state, county, city, town, and village, wherever it may be practicable.

Resolved, That the board of managers of the Society be requested to appoint an agent, in every state, county, city, town, or village in the Union; wherever practicable, whose duty it shall be to form auxiliaries, and carry into effect all the objects of this Society; he shall make a quarterly return to the president of said board of his progress, and condition of his district in mental and moral improvement.

Resolved, That the agents named in the above resolution, be and are hereby authorized to open books, and endeavor to obtain and receive subscribers' names for the purpose of establishing a Manual Labor School, in some suitable place hereafter to be decided upon; and they shall make their returns quarterly, with the other information, to the board, for the information of the Society—and whenever it shall appear that a sufficient amount has been subscribed, there shall be appointed by the board some responsible agent to collect the same for the Society, who shall then take immediate measures to establish the said Manual Labor School for the instruction of youth.

Resolved, That this Society recommend to all Societies who are, or shall become auxiliary, or shall send representatives to the annual meetings thereof, to adopt and sustain, by precept and example, all the principles of this Society, especially that of *total* abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.

Resolved, That the agents and members of this Society be, and are hereby requested, to use every exertion in their power by lectures and addresses, &c., to impress upon our people the propriety of practising the principles of economy in all things.

Resolved, That the practice of the principles of peace, as exemplified in the life and character of our *Blessed Redeemer*, while on earth, is the most proper example for our people to follow.

Resolved, That the moral, upright, and correct deportment of our people, will be one of the strongest arguments we can present in favor of universal civil and religious liberty.

The first of said resolutions, after one reading, on motion of James Bird, was adopted by the Society. The second, after being debated for a length of time by several of the members, was, on motion of Daniel Colly, laid on the table. The third, in reference to the establishment of a Manual Labor School, &c., occasioned a very animated discussion; it was opposed by Messrs. Harris and Payne, and ably supported by J. C. White. It continued to occupy the attention of the house until the hour of adjournment, when, on motion of J. Forten, jr., it was laid on the table.

Adjourned, to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Thursday afternoon.—Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gardner. The President in the chair. Constitution read, roll called, and minutes of the morning session read. The unfinished business of the morning, in relation to the resolutions, was again taken up, and, on motion of J. Forten, jr., the fourth resolution was unanimously adopted. On motion of J. M'Crummell, seconded by J. C. Bowers, the fifth resolution was adopted. The sixth and seventh resolutions, after eliciting some debate, were unanimously adopted. On motion of Andrew Harris, it was

Resolved, That the second resolution, appertaining to agents, be indefinitely postponed.

On motion of James M'Cummill, it was

Resolved, That we recommend a monthly address to be delivered by the members of this Society, on the great principles of Moral Reform.

On motion of J. C. Bowers, it was

Resolved, That the resolutions, in minutes of Friday, Aug. 18, 1837, should not be considered at this time.

An interesting communication from Jesse Gould, Bridgewater, N. Jersey, was received and read. Wm. Whipper, of Columbia, Pa., then presented the following preamble and resolutions:

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, The spirit of nations and governments, the church and the world, have long been enlisted on the side of the oppressor, against the claims of the oppressed; and whereas, we hail with rejoicing the great Christian and moral achievements obtained abroad, that have not yet been effected at home; we do therefore, with a profound sense of humility for the present condition of our common country, fervently beseech a kind Providence to bestow his gracious influence on the same glorious principles in the *new* world, that have well nigh abolished the last

vestige of slavery and prejudice from the *old*; so that man may every where, of whatever clime, nation, condition, or complexion, be completely emancipated from the "dominion of man," and admitted into the universal brotherhood of nations, as they are by birth joint heirs of a common inheritance. Therefore, be it

1. *Resolved*, That the long lost rights and liberties of the people of this country can only be regained by their recurring to those grand primeval principles that gave them a national existence.

2. *Resolved*, That there is not, in the Declaration of American Independence, either an express or implied sentiment making a distinction in the rights and privileges of future Americans, but to the contrary, their first infant breath boldly proclaimed that all men are equally entitled to the enjoyment of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Therefore, we freely assert, that we are not indebted to either the principles of that instrument, or the Bible, for the disabilities under which we labor; but to the spirit of the Church, and the Government under which we live.

3. *Resolved*, That the erecting what are termed white and colored churches fosters the spirit of prejudice, and insults the spirit of true reform, by refusing to be associated in Christian fellowship with their brethren of a different complexion, while they both acknowledge the same God as their ruler, and expect to inherit the same destiny in a future world.

4. *Resolved*, That education and science is the great key to the moral world, and every days' experience brings forth stronger claims for their support.

5. *Resolved*, That intemperance is the bane of society, and mother of misery; and the use of all intoxicating liquors, as a common drink, or an article of merchandise, ought to be considered disreputable; and that we justly consider all who either manufacture, or sell intoxicating liquors, an enemy to their *species*.

6. *Resolved*, That a strict economy with regard to health, means, and personal comfort, ought to induce all to abandon it.

7. *Resolved*, That the conduct of the freed men in Antigua and Bermuda deserve our lasting gratitude and respect, for unto their good conduct, more than to any other cause, may be attributed the emancipation of the apprentices in other islands.

8. *Resolved*, That we see nothing to regret in the different complexions which it has pleased the Almighty to clothe the human family, and we fully approve of that social fellowship and Christian kindness that pro-

motes universal love to mankind, "irrespective of color or condition."

9. *Resolved*, That the principles of peace, in the British West Indies, have secured for the abolition of slavery a triumph more glorious than the diadem of kings, or the laurels of a *Cesar*, an *Alexander*, or a *Napoleon*.

10. *Resolved*, That we hail with pleasure the success that has attended the labors of the Miss Grimké's in the cause of "peace," and the rights of woman, and look to the final success of their principles as the achievement of universal emancipation.

11. *Resolved*, That the blood of the martyred Lovejoy appeals to the people of this nation, to support the freedom of speech, the press, and the liberty of man.

12. *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, to draft an address to the freed apprentices of the British West India Islands.

On motion of J. C. Bowers, the foregoing preamble and first resolution was adopted.

The second resolution was offered for adoption, but as some opposition was made to it, and it being one of vital importance to this Society, it was not acted upon, but on motion of J. Forten, jr., was postponed, to be considered on Friday morning. Adjourned.

Friday morning, 10 o'clock.—The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Gardner. The president called the attention of the meeting to the unfinished business of yesterday, in relation to Mr. Whipper's second resolution. S. H. Gloucester offered an amendment to the above resolution, seconded by J. C. White. After much debate by several gentlemen, at 11 o'clock, the order of the day was called for by Mr. Gloucester; but on motion of Mr. Whipper, seconded by R. Purvis, it was agreed that the order of the day be suspended until this afternoon, 3½ o'clock. It was carried by a vote of 21 to 5. The debate proceeded on the amendment, which was a substitution of these words, "to the worldly spirit of a great portion of professed Christians," until the previous question was called for by J. M'Crummill; when the original resolution was adopted by the following vote: *yeas* 19, *nays* 11. The remaining resolutions were then called up, all of which were unanimously adopted. The following gentlemen were appointed a committee on the last resolution, viz. Messrs. Wm. Whipper, R. Purvis, and A. Harris.

Mr. J. C. White presented a resolution, seconded by J. M'Crummill.

Resolved, That the consumers of slave products are the supporters of slavery, therefore we recommend the friends of freedom to

abstain from their use. Which motion was under consideration, when the meeting, on motion, took their usual recess.

Friday afternoon.—The president called the meeting to order. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gardner. J. C. White's resolution being the unfinished business of the morning session, it was again brought up, and after some debate, was, on motion of S. H. Gloucester, indefinitely postponed.

The report of the nominating committee was then called for, but the list could not be found; when, on motion, it was

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Whereupon, Messrs. Oliver, Cook, Wolf, Whipper, and Butler, were appointed.

The committee appointed to nominate an agent, reported for the choice of the meeting, Mr. S. H. Gloucester and Mr. J. F. Cook. Mr. Gloucester declined a nomination. Mr. J. F. Cook was unanimously elected, but declined the office, and nominated the Rev. D. A. Payne, who also declined serving, and John B. Roberts was chosen.

John D. Oliver, from the committee to nominate officers, presented their report, which was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Rev. Daniel A. Payne, it was unanimously

Resolved, That licentious men should be held in the same disrepute as licentious women.

On motion of S. H. Gloucester, it was

Resolved, That we consider the use of tobacco to be intemperance, and we consider those who smoke, chew, snuff, or sell the article, enemies to their fellow-men.

On motion of Robert Purvis, seconded by Wm. Whipper, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the life-blood of the American Colonization Society gives energy to the spirit of mobocracy, and echoes a shout of triumph over the demolition of dwellings, the conflagration of *public halls*, the destruction of the press, the downfall of liberty, and the prostration of *law, order, justice*, and equality.

On motion of James Forten, jr., it was unanimously

Resolved, That the principles laid down by this Society, should engage the attention of all those who wish to secure the future happiness and prosperity of the rising generation, and to see the ever-living spirit of morality triumph over the blasting and withering influence of vice.

On motion of James M'Crummill, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting recommend to the young men of the city and county of Philadelphia, to assist in the support of the Philadelphia Reading Room.

Resolved, That when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet on the second Tuesday in August, 1839, in the city of Philadelphia.

On motion of James M'Crummill, Mr. A. Harris had leave to address the meeting, which he did very eloquently and interestingly, on the subject of temperance, total abstinence, and the use of tobacco.

On motion of Rev. Daniel A. Payne, seconded by J. Forten, jr., it was

Resolved, That our unfeigned thanks are due to the abolitionists in general, and to the fearless John Q. Adams in particular, for their unwearied advocacy of the right of petition.

On motion of J. J. G. Bias, it was

Resolved, That the Mirror of Liberty, edited and published by David Ruggles, of the city of New York, is a valuable auxiliary in the cause of Human Rights, and is worthy of extensive patronage.

On motion of James M'Crummill, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are hereby tendered to the chaplain, and officers of this church, for their kindness and attention during the present session; also to the president and other officers, for the able and dignified manner in which they have performed their duties.

After some appropriate remarks from the president, the Society adjourned, to meet on the 2d Tuesday in August, 1839.

Concluded with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gardner.

JAMES FORTEN, Sr. President.

Jas. Forten, Jr. Secretary,

J. C. Bowers, Assistant Secretary.

DELEGATES.

From Gettysburg, Penn.—Henry Butler.

From Woodbury, N. J.—John Freeman.

From Cumberland Co. N. J.—Geo. Valentine.

From Columbia, Penn.—Daniel George.

From Burlington, N. J.—Joshua Woodlin.

From Salem, N. J.—Daniel Yates.

AMERICAN MORAL REFORM SOCIETY.

In view of the most mighty considerations that ever engaged the attention of man, and resting our hopes of a triumphant success on the great Author of all good, we, the subscribers, citizens of the United States of America, in Convention assembled, believing that the successful resuscitation of our country from moral degeneracy depends upon a vigilant prosecution of the holy cause of Moral Reform,

as in its promotion is involved the interest, happiness, and prosperity of the great Republic, and also that the moral elevation of this nation will accelerate the extension of righteousness, justice, truth, and evangelical principles throughout the world: therefore, in accordance with the recommendation of the fourth annual Convention, held in the city of New York, we do agree to form ourselves into a National Society, based on the principles set forth in the Declaration of Sentiment.

ARTICLE I.—This Society shall be called *The American Moral Reform Society*.

ARTICLE II.—Any person may become a member of this institution who shall pledge himself to practise and sustain the general principles of Moral Reform as advocated in our country, especially those of Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty, by contributing to its objects.

ARTICLE III.—The annual meeting of this Society shall be on the second Tuesday in August, in each year, in the city of Philadelphia.

ARTICLE IV.—The officers of this Society shall consist of one President, four Vice-Presidents, three Secretaries, (foreign, home, and recording,) a Treasurer, and a Board of Managers of seven persons.

ARTICLE V.—Section 1.—It shall be the duty of the Board to supervise and direct the action and operation of the Society, as well as its financial concerns.

Sec. 2.—All candidates for membership must apply to the Board of Directors, whose duty it shall be to admit all who subscribe to the principles contained in this Constitution.

ARTICLE VI.—Any member violating the principles set forth in this Constitution will be disqualified for membership, and shall be subject as the Board may direct.

ARTICLE VII.—The funds of this Society shall be appropriated to the diffusion of light on the subject advocated, and its Constitution may be altered from time to time, so as to keep pace with the great object of Moral Reform.

Signed on behalf of the officers of this Society.

President.

JAMES FORTEN, SEN.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM WATKINS, of Maryland.

JACOB C. WHITE, of Pennsylvania.

DANIEL YATES, of New Jersey.

JOHN F. COOK, of Columbia, Pa.

Treasurer.

JOSEPH CASSEY.

Foreign Corresponding Secretary.

JAMES FORTEN, JR.

Home Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM WHIPPER.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. BOWERS.

Board of Managers.

John P. Burr, Chairman,

Stephen H. Gloucester, Robert Purvis,
Benjamin C. Bacon, James M'Crummill,
Rev. Bishop Brown, Thomas Butler.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENT.

That this Convention earnestly deplore the depressed condition of the colored population of the United States; and they have in vain searched the history of nations to find a parallel.

They claim to be the offspring of a parentage, that once, for their excellence of attainment in the arts, literature and science, stood before the world unrivalled. We have mournfully observed the fall of those institutions that shed lustre on our mother country, and extended to Greece and Rome those refinements that made them objects of admiration to the cultivators of science.

We have observed, that in no country under Heaven have the descendants of an *ancestry* once enrolled in the history of fame, whose glittering monuments stood forth as beacons, disseminating light and knowledge to the uttermost parts of the earth, been reduced to such degrading servitude as that under which we labor from the effect of *American slavery* and *American prejudice*.

The separation of our fathers from the land of their birth, earthly ties and early affections, was not only sinful in its nature and tendency, but it led to a system of robbery, bribery, and persecution offensive to the laws of nature and of justice.

Therefore, under whatever pretext or authority these laws have been promulgated or executed, whether under parliamentary, colonial, or American legislation, *we declare* them in the sight of Heaven wholly *null* and *void*, and should be *immediately abrogated*.

That we find ourselves, after the lapse of two centuries, on the American continent, the remnants of a nation amounting to three millions of people, whose country has been pillaged, parents stolen, nine generations of which have been wasted by the oppressive cruelty of this nation, standing in the presence of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and the civilized world, appealing to the God of nations for deliverance.

Surely there is no people on earth whose patriotic appeals for *liberty* and *justice* possess more hallowed claims on the just interposition of Divine Providence, to aid them in removing the most unqualified system of tyranny and oppression, under which human beings ever groaned.

We rejoice that it is our lot to be the inhabitants of a country blest by nature, with a genial climate and fruitful soil, and where the liberty of speech and the press is protected by law.

We rejoice that we are thrown into a revolution where the contest is not for landed territory, but for freedom; the weapons not carnal, but spiritual; where the struggle is not for blood, but for right; and where the bow is the power of God, and the arrow the instrument of divine justice; while the victims are the devices of *reason*, and the prejudice of the human heart. It is in this glorious struggle for civil and religious liberty, for the establishment of peace on earth and good will to men, that we are morally bound by all the relative ties we owe to the author of our being, to enter the arena and boldly contend for victory.

Our reliance and only hope is in God. If success attend the effort, the downfall of Africa from her ancient pride and splendor, will have been more than glorious to the establishment of *religion*; every drop of blood spilt by her descendants under the dominion of prejudice and persecution, will have produced peaceful rivers, that shall wash from the soil of the human heart the mountains of vice and corruption under which this nation has long withered.

And if our presence in this country will aid in producing such a desirable reform, although we have been reared under a most debasing system of tyranny and oppression, we shall have been born under the most favorable auspices to promote the redemption of the world; for our very sighs and groans, like the blood of martyrs, will prove to have been the seed of the church; for they will freight the air with their voluminous ejaculations, and will be borne upwards by the power of virtue to the great Ruler of Israel, for deliverance from this yoke of merciless bondage. Let us not lament, that under the present constituted powers of this government, we are disfranchised; better far than to be partakers of its guilt. Let us refuse to be allured by the glittering endowments of official stations, or enchanted with the robe of American citizenship. But let us choose like true patriots, rather to be the victims of oppression than the administrators of injustice.

Let no man remove from his native country, for our principles are drawn from the book of Divine Revelation, and are incorporated in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are born equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Therefore, our only trust is in the agency of Divine Truth, and the spirit of American liberty; our cause is glorious, and must finally triumph. Though the blighting hand of time should sweep us from the stage of action; though other generations should pass away, our principles will live for ever; we will teach our children, and our children's children to hand them down to unborn generations, and to the latest posterity; not merely for the release of the bondman from his chains, nor for the elevation of the free colored man to the privileges of citizenship; nor for the restoration of the world from infidelity and superstition; but from the more fatal doctrine of *expediency*, without which the true principles of religion can never be established, liberty never secure, or the sacred rights of man remain inviolate.

It is our fortune to live in an era when the moral power of this nation is waking up to the evils of slavery, and the cause of our oppressed brethren throughout this country. We see two *rival* institutions* invoking the benevolence of nations to aid in changing our condition. The former proposes an indirect action on the sin of slavery, by removing the free to the land of their fathers. The latter, a direct action on the subject of slavery, by denouncing its guilt, while it pleads for the elevation of the free colored man in the land of his nativity.

The former we reject. *First*, because it is unnecessary, there being sufficient amount of territory on this continent to contain ten times the number of its present inhabitants. *Secondly*, because it is anti-republican in its nature and tendency; for if our country were now overflowing with a redundant population, we should deny the right of any one class of men to designate those that should be first removed. *Thirdly*, because if the few be removed, we have no security that slavery would be abolished; besides, if that were achieved, the victims of prejudice would scarcely be removed in a *century*, while the prejudice itself would still exist. Therefore, we, as ardent lovers of our country's welfare, would be guilty of leaving it to writhe under the dominion of a prejudice inimical to the

principles of morality, religion, and virtue, while on the contrary we might have aided in its removal. Therefore we believe and affirm that the duty we owe to the land of our birth, the interest of our suffering brethren, the cause of justice, virtue, and religion, appeal to us in the most emphatic terms to remain on our soil, and see the salvation of God, and the true principles of *freedom*.

Therefore we do not desire to see our numbers decreased, but we pray God that we may lawfully multiply in numbers, in moral and intellectual endowments, and that our visages may be as so many Bibles, that shall warn this guilty nation of her injustice and cruelty to the descendants of Africa, until righteousness, justice, and truth, shall rise in their might and majesty, and proclaim from the halls of legislation that the chains of the bondsman have fallen; that the soil is sacred to liberty; and that, without distinction of nation or complexion, she disseminates alike her blessings of *freedom to all mankind*.

Then let us rally around her *standard*, and aid in cementing and perpetuating that bond of union.

As it regards the latter institution, we believe that it is preparing the way for that desirable event. With them we make one common cause, satisfied to await the same issue. With them we are willing to labor for its achievement, and terminate our lives as martyrs, in support of its principles. We will raise our moral flag, bearing for its inscription, "do unto others as you would have them do unto you;" under this banner we will rally our countrymen without distinction of caste or complexion.

We therefore declare to the world, that our object is to extend the principles of universal peace and good will to all mankind, by promoting sound morality, by the influence of education, temperance, economy, and all those virtues that alone can render man acceptable in the eyes of God or the civilized world.

We therefore consider it due to our friends and our enemies, nay, to the world, that previous to our taking this decided stand, we should make this just exposition of our *sentiments*. We have drawn our principles of human rights from an authority above human legislation. Therefore we cheerfully enter on this moral warfare in defence of *liberty, justice, and humanity*, conscious that whether we live to witness its completion, or die in anticipation of its glorious results, that it has already been committed to the friends of liberty and Christianity throughout the world, and to them we look for its final con-

*The American Colonization Society and American Anti-Slavery Society.

immation. We, therefore, mutually pledge ourselves to these principles, the cause, and the world, to do all that in our power lies, to hasten the period when *justice and universal liberty shall sway the sceptre of nations.*

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Fellow Citizens,—We form a portion of the people of this continent, on whom an unmeasurable amount of obloquy, and scorn, and contempt have been poured, on account of the depravity of our morals; and who have been educated under the influence of a system that impairs the mental vigor, blights with its lasting influence the only successful hope on which the mind can be reared, that keeps from our grasp the fruits of knowledge, the favor of just and equitable laws, and presents a formidable barrier to the prosecution of the arts and sciences of civilized life. The lucrative avocations, mechanic arts, and civil associations by which men acquire a knowledge of government, and the nature of human affairs, have been almost wholly reserved as a dignified reward, suited only to the interest and use of the fairer complexion. Yet, in despite of all these, when all the avenues of privileged life have been closed against us, our hands bound with stationary fetters, our minds left to grope in the prison cell of impenetrable gloom, and our whole action regulated by constitutional law and a perverse public sentiment, we have been tauntingly required to prove the dignity of our human nature, by disrobing ourselves of inferiority, and exhibiting to the world our profound Scholars, distinguished Philosophers, learned Jurists, and distinguished Statesmen. The very expectation on which such a requisition is founded, to say the least, is unreasonable, for it is only when the seed is sown that we can justly hope to reap. If, amidst all the difficulties with which we have been surrounded, and the privations which we have suffered, we presented an equal amount of intelligence with that class of Americans that have been so peculiarly favored, a *very grave and dangerous* question would present itself to the world, on the natural equality of man, and the best rule of logic would place those who have oppressed us in the scale of inferiority. This we do not desire; we love the appellation that records the natural and universal rights of man, (to enjoy all the attributes of human happiness,) too well, to deprive a single being on earth of such an heavenly inheritance. We can never consent to degrade the creation of man by even attempting to

defend the impartiality of his Author. If there be those who doubt that we are made in the image of God, and are endowed with those attributes which the Deity has given to man, we will exhibit them our "hands and side."

The general assertion that superiority of mind is the natural offspring of a fair complexion, arrays itself against the experience of the past and present age, and both natural and physiological science. The ignorance that exists on this subject we are not accountable for, nor are we willing to admit a theory alike irreconcilable with philosophy and common sense.

It is in view of these mighty evils that exist in our country, which are truly national, that has caused us to meet in annual convention for six successive years, to take into consideration the best method of remedying our present situation by contributing to their removal; during which period we have associated the collected wisdom of our people, in their representative character, from half the states of this Union, extending from Maine to Washington, southernly, and from thence westwardly to Cincinnati, Ohio, and have come to the conclusion to form a National Moral Reform Society, as a means best calculated to reach the wants and improve the condition of our people.

We have selected four valuable subjects for rallying points, viz.: Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty. We hope to make our people, in theory and practice, thoroughly acquainted with these subjects, as a method of future action. Having placed our institution on the high and indisputable ground of natural laws and human rights, and being guided and actuated by the law of universal love to our fellow men, we have buried in the bosom of Christian benevolence all those national distinctions, complexional variations, geographical lines, and sectional bounds that have hitherto marked the history, character, and operations of men; and now boldly plead for the Christian and moral elevation of the human race. To aid us in its completion, we shall endeavor to enlist the sympathies and benevolence of the Christian, moral, and political world. Without regard to creeds, we shall only ask for the fulfilment of Christian duty, as the surest method of extending righteousness and justice. We shall aim to procure the abolition of those hateful and unnecessary distinctions by which the human family has hitherto been recognised, and only desire that they may be distinguished by their virtues and vices.

We hope to unite the colored population in those principles of Moral Reform. 1st. As a measure necessary to be practised by all rational and intelligent beings, for the promotion of peace, harmony, and concord in society. 2d. As a measure necessary to aid in effecting the total abolition of slavery. And 3d. As having a tendency to effect the destruction of vice universally.

In order to this, we will appoint agents to disseminate these truths among our people, and establish auxiliaries wherever practicable, that the same leaven of righteousness and justice may animate the body politic. We will establish a press, and through it make known to the world our progress in the arts, science, and civilization. For aid in the prosecution of our undertaking we shall appeal to the benevolence of nations, but more particularly to our own. For, as God has so abundantly blessed her with internal resources as a means of gratifying her spiritual and temporal wants, so we believe she should employ them to his honor and glory, in disseminating the blessings of education, peace, happiness, and prosperity to her own fellow citizens. And if America is to be instrumental through the providence of Almighty God in blessing other portions of the peopled earth, by extending to the heathen and pagan idolater the knowledge of the true God, a pure science, an unadulterated religion, an exalted and benevolent philanthropy, how necessary is it that she should first purify her own dominions, by extending to all her children those divine and precious gifts; so when she shall have joined other nations in rearing the standard for the redemption of the world, every ray of light that may reach those benighted regions will, when falling on the prism of truth, present one pure, unmixed stream of Christian love, and cease to becloud the horizon of everlasting justice. We will first appeal to the Christian churches to take the lead in establishing the principles of supreme love to God and universal love to man. We will do all in our power to aid her in forming a moral structure against which "the gates of hell cannot prevail."

We plead for the extension of those principles on which our government was formed, that it in turn may become purified from those iniquitous inconsistencies into which she has fallen by her aberration from first principles; that the laws of our country may cease to conflict with the spirit of that sacred instrument, the Declaration of American Independence. We believe in a pure, unmixed republicanism, as a form of government best

suited to the condition of man, by its promoting equality, virtue, and happiness to all within its jurisdiction. We love our country, and pray for the perpetuation of its government, that it may yet stand illustrious before the nations of the earth, both for the purity of its precepts, and the mildness and equableness of its laws.

We shall advocate the cause of peace, believing that whatever tends to the destruction of human life, is at variance with the precepts of the Gospel, and at enmity with the well being of individuals as well as of society. We shall endeavor to promote education, with sound morality, not that we shall become "learned and mighty," but "great and good." We shall advocate temperance in all things, and total abstinence from all alcoholic liquors. We shall advocate a system of *economy*, not only because luxury is injurious to individuals, but because its practice exercises an influence on society, which in its very nature is sinful. We shall advocate universal liberty, as the inalienable right of every individual born in the world, and a right which cannot be taken away by government itself, without an unjust exercise of power. We shall exhibit our sympathy for our suffering brethren, by petitioning Congress to procure the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and her territories. We shall endeavor to strengthen public sentiment against slavery, so long as a slave treads the soil of these United States. We shall aim at the extinction of mental thralldom; an evil much more dangerous and exceeding the former, both in extent and power. We shall dissuade our brethren from using the products of slave labor, both as a moral and Christian duty, and as a means by which the slave system may be successfully abrogated. We shall appeal to the colored churches to take decisive measures to rid themselves of the sin of slavery and immorality. We shall endeavor to pledge all the ministers and elders of our churches to the cause of Moral Reform. We hope to train the undisciplined youth in moral pursuits, and we shall anxiously endeavor to impress on our people every where, that in moral elevation true happiness consists. We feel bound to pursue the present course as a duty we owe to ourselves, our God, our common country, and the interests of suffering humanity. The free colored population of the United States now amount to about 400,000, and are constantly increasing by a double process, and we believe that the philanthropic exertions that are now making in our country for the abolition of slavery, will shortly remove the

ters from thousands annually, and these will continually adding to our number. We are unable to conceive of any better method by which we can aid the cause of humanity, than by improving our general character, and embracing within our grasp the liberated slave for moral and mental culture. By pursuing this course we shall certainly remove many of the objections to immediate emancipation. And we further believe, that all who have either thought or felt deeply on this subject will not only sanction such an organization, but will feel bound to aid in promoting its objects. We shall entreat those that are constantly persecuting and calumniating our general character, to cease with their vituperations, and suffer a people already bowed to the dust, to breathe out their existence in peace and quietude. We will entreat our brethren to bear with Christian fortitude the scoffs and indignation that may be cast on them on account of their complexion, and pity the source from whence it emanates, knowing it is the offspring of wickedness and ignorance. In the present state of society, we must expect to endure many difficulties, until the world improves in wisdom, and a polite education, and a more liberal and enlightened philosophy, supplants the present system of national education. If we but fully rest ourselves on the dignity of human nature, and maintain a bold, enduring front against all opposition, the monster, prejudice, will fall limply at our feet. Prejudice, like slavery, cannot stand the omnipotence of Truth. It is as impossible for a bold, clear and discriminating mind that can calmly and dispassionately survey the structure upon which prejudice is founded, and the materials of which it is composed, to be chained within its grasp, as it is for the puny arm of rebellious man to control the operations of the universe.

We will endeavor to establish in our people a correct knowledge of their own immortal worth, their high derivation as rational, moral and intelligent beings. We shall appeal to them to abandon their prejudices against all complexion and bury them in oblivion, and endeavor to live in the same country as children of one common father, and as brethren possessing the same holy, religious faith, and with a zeal determined on the promotion of great and glorious objects. We shall endeavor to impress on them, at all times, to maintain in every station of life that affability of manner, meekness, humility, and gentleness, that ornaments the Christian character; and finally, we will appeal to Heaven for the purity of our motives, and the rectitude of our

intentions, and to men for the means of prosecuting them; to Christians, philanthropists and patriots, without regard to creed, profession, or party. In short, we shall aim to whatever seemeth good, consistent with these principles, for the promotion and welfare of our people.

Having now stated the most prominent objects that will command our attention and support, there are others that, from mere custom and usage, many might suppose it were our duty to vindicate. From these we must respectfully dissent, viz.: We will not stoop to contend with those who style us inferior beings. And as we know of no earthly tribunal of sufficient competency and impartiality to decide on a question involving the natural superiority of individuals and nations, we shall not submit so grave a decision to creatures like ourselves, and especially to our enemies. In the preamble of our Constitution, we claim to be American citizens, and we will not waste our time by holding converse with those who deny us this privilege, unless they first prove that a man is not a citizen of that country in which he was born and reared. Those that desire to discuss with us the propriety of remaining in this country, or of the method of our operations, must first admit us, as a cardinal point, their equals by nature, possessing, like themselves, from God, all those inalienable rights that are universally admitted to be the property of his creatures. We will not admit that strength of mind lies concealed in the complexion of the body. Having now performed a duty we owed to the people of these United States, in explaining the whole course of action of an Institution for the improvement of the morals, bearing the broad and illustrious title of AMERICAN, we view in anticipation the most happy results to our beloved country, and will most heartily rejoice, if, in an hour of danger, we shall have been fortunate enough to have aided in rescuing her from the evils into which she has fallen; and we do most cordially hope, that a moral fabric may be reared that will promote the cause of righteousness and justice throughout the universe.

WILLIAM WHIPPER.

For the National Reformer.

Mr. Editor,—I had the pleasure last evening of hearing a lecture from the agent of the "American Moral Reform Society." The speaker appeared to be admirably suited to the office he has been selected to fill, and will no doubt prove a valuable auxiliary in dis-

seminating the principles of that institution; and as there seems to exist considerable opposition to it, at the present, from the fact, I believe, that its objects are not understood, one of the main objections being, that it will not, or is inadequate to accomplish what it designs, several objections were ably answered by the agent, no doubt to the satisfaction of the audience. One remark touching the difficulties the society had to contend with, reminds me of an anecdote. "When King Robert Bruce, of Scotland, had been long unfortunate, he was once sitting alone, in a rude apartment, ready to despair. A spider was there, constructing its web; it was a long time baffled, ere it could fasten the silken thread where it desired, but as fast as it was disappointed, it tried again. At length it succeeded. The king looked at the spider, and received instruction. He returned with renewed courage to his toil, and was at last victorious." The success of the Reform Society cannot be doubted, if they but persevere in their labors. Rev. — Freeman also addressed the meeting, and a few remarks were made relative to the paper about to be issued by that society, by J. C. White, whilst the agent was procuring subscribers.

A FRIEND TO REFORM.

Sept. 11th, 1838.

PHILADELPHIA, August 31, 1838.

At a respectable meeting of the colored people, held at the Second Presbyterian Church, St. Mary's street, Mr. JOHN BOWERS, Sen., was called to the chair, and Messrs. Charles W. Gardner and Thomas Butler were appointed Vice Presidents, and Nathaniel W. Depee and Ebenezer Black, Secretaries.

The object of the meeting was briefly stated by the chair, announcing the death of JAMES C. BIDDLE, Esq.

On motion of Mr. Stephen H. Gloucester, seconded by Mr. Frederick A. Hinton, a committee of five were appointed by the chair to draft resolutions, expressive of the sense of the meeting, on the decease of our estimable fellow-citizen, and the feeling of deep regret we entertain for this afflictive bereavement.

Whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed: Messrs. Stephen H. Gloucester, John P. Burr, Frederick A. Hinton, James Bird, and Jacob C. White.

The Committee, after having retired, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, we have received the mournful

intelligence of the death of James C. Biddle, Esq., of this city—therefore,

Resolved, That as Pennsylvanians, we feel in common with our fellow-citizens generally, the loss of a great and good man, the ornament of his profession—a frank, generous, and upright citizen—an eloquent and clear-sighted statesman—and as an oppressed and suffering class of the community, of whose rights and privileges he was the steady and manly supporter, we mourn with a grief peculiar and unshared by others over his early grave.

Resolved, That we cherish, with grateful emotions, the memory of his noble stand against the cruel act of the majority of the "Reform Convention," which threatens to deprive us of our *rights as citizens*, and to tear from us the privileges secured to us by the *Fathers* of this *Commonwealth* in the Constitution of 1780.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretaries of this meeting, to the family and relatives of our deceased friend and benefactor, and also to the editors of the daily papers of this city.

JOHN BOWERS, sr., Chairman.

Nathan W. Dupee, } Secretaries.
Ebenezer Black, }

A writer in the Pennsylvania Freeman is giving a history of the "American Colonization Society," from its first inception in the minds of the slaveholding South, with the probable intention of bringing it up to the present time, when R. J. Breckenridge thinks it safe to declare that "the scheme is too great to be carried on upon any one set of principles." Knowing the ability of the writer, and his proverbial accuracy in the statement of facts, we anticipate a full and faithful history of this cruel conspiracy, for the banishment of the free colored people. We shall probably republish a portion, if not the whole of his articles.—*Christian Witness*.

As our first number is necessarily made up of minutes and reports, it may be proper to inform our subscribers and friends that the future numbers will contain original and selected articles on the subjects of Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty, sufficient to bring out the principles contained in our address to the public.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 2.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1838.

VOL. I.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NATIONAL REFORMER,

To be published in Philadelphia by the Board of Managers of the American Moral Reform Society. Wm. Whipper, Editor.

Our object in establishing the *National Reformer*, is to disseminate the principles and measures of the *American Moral Reform Society*. For the want of an organ, devoted exclusively to the support of the doctrines we maintain, our objects have been grossly misunderstood. We do not lay claim to the establishment of any new principles, but only advocate the practical fulfilment and universal application of those that are already acknowledged by the friends of equal rights and impartial justice. We do not enter the arena against any periodical, whose principles of moral right are based on republican equality. We design to occupy a sphere in the moral reformation of this age and country, that has but partially claimed the attention of those that have preceded us. So far as our limits will permit, we shall endeavor to give a vigorous support to the cause of human rights.

The size of the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal octavo, and published monthly, at \$1.00 a year in advance; six copies for \$5.00.

All communications should be addressed, post paid, to JOHN P. BURR, chairman of the board, No. 113 South Fifth street.

JOHN B. ROBERTS has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the *Reformer*.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Fellow Citizens,—In presenting to you our claims for the establishment of a new periodical, devoted to the interests of the oppressed, a "decent respect for public opinion" requires us distinctly to state the motives that impel us to the undertaking. We are now in the incipient stage of a great moral revolution, that is undermining creeds, annihilating customs, dethroning empires and governments that have been reared in iniquity, and establishing others in their stead, on the broad elementary principles of righteousness, justice,

and humanity. To aid in forming this noble superstructure for the glory of earth, and honor of heaven, it is the duty of all cheerfully to participate.

The reigning spirit of conquest, throughout the world in past ages, has been formed in enmity, pursued in hatred, inflamed by passion, and consummated in blood. The present contest will be for the triumph of just principles, and the dominion of reason. The weapons will be ungarnished truth—the panoply *love*, and the spirit *peace*. The superiority of *moral* over *physical* force,—and *intellectual* power over *brutal* sagacity, will be plainly demonstrated to the most obtuse vision. The principles of liberty, and the right of all men to enjoy equally the protection of the governments under which they live, will be fairly canvassed.

Our country stands eminently renowned for her many virtues, while she is overshadowed by *bold* and *daring* vices. The people of this nation have been born heirs to a "freedom and happiness" they have never enjoyed, because the spirit of despotism has willed it otherwise. To overthrow this enemy of humanity, and transplant the spirit of the pilgrim fathers, will be to bestow true glory, honor, wealth, and renown, on our nation's character. This achievement is intended for the happiness of all—then let all come to the rescue.

The diligent observer already sees that the seed of this great revolution is already thrown broadcast on the waves of time—the spirit of conquest is on the wings of the wind. Christianity is no longer confined to local domains, but has erected her standard for the subjugation of the world, throughout the immaculate space of its author. Moral power stretches itself beyond state lines and continental boundaries, and aims at circumnavigating the globe. Governments and institutions are but the offspring of the human mind, and the creatures of society, and will become purified and regulated by the Christian and moral power of the country in which they exist. The subject of RIGHTS and DUTIES, will claim our especial attention.

We maintain that *both* are original bequests of God to man, antecedent to the formation of human governments; and cannot be *invalidated* by them; nor can we be deprived of

their benefits, without the exercise of human power being directed against the *decrees* of the ALMIGHTY. Therefore, when our *rights* are *invaded* by human governments, earthly tribunals, penal codes and enactments, we will appeal to them to remove the unjustifiable source of oppression. If we fail in the attainment of our object, we will transfer our appeal from the governments of earth, to the government of Heaven—from human codes to the code of the living God—from the arbitration of *men* to the arbitration of *angels*, and await the decision of the ALMIGHTY. We believe this to be strictly in accordance with the apostolic injunction of "obeying the powers that be."

We maintain that *moral duties* are imperative obligations from man to his MAKER, and to his fellow beings, that cannot be changed by *worldly expediency*, or the *fiction of circumstance*;—that having descended from one common parent, we should consider ourselves as children of the same family;—that in our reciprocal duties to each other, we should never be guided by national or complexional preferences;—that the "heathenish spirit of caste," ought at *once, now and for ever*, to be abolished; and that the first and highest impulse of human duty ought to be exerted in aid of the oppressed.

Therefore, we believe that the cardinal principles of our Society, viz., *Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty*, if properly carried out, will prove a powerful auxiliary in producing this necessary *reformation*, on which rests the Christian's hope. They are now producing wonders in our country, under distinct and specific organizations. They are adhesive virtues, and as capable of uniting with each other as a like number of seas are of commingling their waters, and forming one great ocean. If this mighty current of philanthropy could become united into one living stream, it would soon sweep from our country every vestige of misery and oppression. And is it not as necessary that it should be so, as that a single mind should embrace these principles alone? Our country is rich with the means of resuscitating her from moral degeneracy. She possesses all the elements for her redemption; she has but to will it, and she is FREE. It is for the support of these principles we solicit your patronage. We do not ask for the abandonment of a single enterprise for the promotion of human good. We hope that all may be guided by a zeal "according to knowledge" for our country's welfare, and our nation's honor.

W. WHIPPER.

REV. WILLIAM WATKINS.

We cheerfully insert on our first page the letter of this gentleman to our friend Burr of this city. It was accompanied with the following restrictions: "Do not suffer my thoughts to be read before the Society, unless you think there is a necessity."

He has since acceded to the request of his numerous friends, and authorized Mr. Burr to have it published.

The talents, piety, learning, and candor of Mr. W., as well as his cause, have strong claims on the attention of the reader. The source from which the letter emanates, as well as the ability with which it is written, renders it to us a document of much importance; as it embodies the principal of the *stereotyped* objections against our Society.

Our object is to explain the course of our Society, rather than proceed to a critical examination of the doctrines contained in his letter, as we presume its author was influenced by the misrepresentations he received from others, rather than from a recurrence to facts. Our friend W. has been laboring to overthrow a castle that has never been reared; and thus strikes a blow at what he believes a determination to "repudiate the word colored as inapplicable to us, as individuals, associations, or as a people." We have been frequently charged with the advocacy of this doctrine, and as often denied it. We did so publicly, in reply to F. A. Hinton, in the 37th No. of the "Colored American."

But as we desire that this subject may be put to rest, we will recur to a portion of history that ought to satisfy the most incredulous. In the Fifth Annual Convention that recommended the formation of our Society, the following resolution was submitted, and after "an animated and interesting discussion, was unanimously adopted."

"Resolved, That we recommend, as far as possible, to our people, to abandon the use of the word colored, when either speaking or writing concerning themselves, and especially to remove the title of African from their institutions, the marbles of churches, &c."

Surely this does not appear like wholly obliterating the word colored from the vocabu-

lary of our language; or depriving our friends from using it when advocating our cause.

In 1836, at the first meeting of our Society, there were two resolutions passed, recommending addresses, which were afterwards written and published. The first, on the subject of prejudice, addressed to the "Christian churches," was written by our friend W., and the latter was on using the "products of free labor," addressed to the "colored churches."

At our annual meeting in 1837, a discussion of considerable magnitude arose on a motion to erase the word "colored" from a recommendation to establish schools, which was carried, and the substitute, "among our people," adopted, and from this discussion grew the present misunderstanding. Among those that were active in supporting the original resolution as reported by the Committee, the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, editor of the "Colored American," bore a conspicuous part; and from that period to the present, our opponents have considered that paper as advocating the correct doctrine on this subject. We shall, therefore, take the liberty of quoting largely from their acknowledged organ to prove the correctness of our own sentiments.

But before we proceed further, we will again assert that we never have been such "*fanatics*" as to advocate the entire abolition of the word "colored;" we yet hope to use it to great advantage,—and it will be well if some of those that now charge us with an attempt to "dodge it," will not be glad to take shelter under the broad canopy of non-distinction. But we have too long witnessed the baneful effects of distinctions founded in hatred and prejudice, to advocate the insertion of either the word "*white*" or "*colored*" as landmarks of duty, in churches, schools, moral or benevolent institutions, for the promotion of religion, morality, or civil government.

On this subject let us see wherein we disagree with our opponents. In the 57th No. of the "Colored American," the editor asserts that "he does not believe that there are a dozen men in America that believe with us on this

subject. Now for the proof. We heartily respond to the noble and Christian sentiments contained in a very able document, (that has been approved by the editor,) signed by C. W. Gardner and Frederick A. Hinton, presented to the late "Reform Convention" from the colored people of this city, on the right of suffrage. They earnestly remonstrate against the introduction of the word "*white*" into the new Constitution, for the following reasons:

1st. "It is making a distinction among men unknown to the law of God, and disowned by Him. All arrangements of his government in respect to men are without distinction of color."

2d. It would be a violation of the immutable principle of right and justice, written on the hearts of all men, and at war with the revolutionary principle "that all men are created equal." In the 30th No. the editor, in noticing this subject, uses the following bold and denunciatory language, where he says, that "the American people (meaning the people, of the United States,) if they would secure their best interests, and the perpetuity of their government, should abrogate distinctions and castes in every way, and to any extent possible, is equally plain.—The injustice is too glaring—the oppression is too deep and damning for this liberal age."

Now we assert that these rights are precious in the sight of God, and should be held as sacred with regard to the moral as the civil government. And if white men are thus guilty for introducing those distinctions into their civil codes—are not colored men equally guilty for engrafting them in constitutions, designed to promote the principles of God's moral government? We need not speak on this subject ourselves; those that oppose our Society have given us arguments, that are like millstones, which we will fasten to their objections, and sink them to oblivion.

We have now only room to quote another of the many at hand. In the 76th No. of the same paper, the editor says, "that separate schools, and separate churches, are the very means most likely to perpetuate this wicked

caste, which is offensive to God, and destructive to the peace and happiness of man. We should never establish or encourage them, when we can possibly do otherwise. Nothing but sheer necessity will justify us in giving one cent for such purposes." Yet strange as it may appear to some, the editor was a zealous advocate for the introduction of the word "colored" into a recommendation to establish schools, a few months previous. Our Society fully concurs in the principles laid down in the above extracts; and we believe that a majority of the intelligent portion of our people also believe them. The mists of prejudice, produced by misrepresentation, will soon be dispersed by the light of truth. Our people will soon observe that the insertion of the words "white" and "colored" in institutions, is based upon the same principle, and supported by like argument. The advocate of the former threatens the country with *amalgamation*, and the loss of the most distinguished offices of government, if they do not "disfranchise the blacks;" while the latter, if you refuse to raise your banner of distinction, asserts that your object is to "spend all your means and energies on those of an opposite complexion." The principle that actuates both, is delusively mean, and horribly contemptible. What say you, our respected opponents? Can you gainsay this? If you can, come on with your iron pens, faces of brass, and nerves of steel—make your appeals like earthquakes, and your arguments like thunderbolts. For further information respecting our views and principles, we refer our readers to the "Colored American," of the 23d of June last. The editor, in his remarks on "Augustine's" letter, has eloquently vindicated our principles. During the past year, we have been both amused and amazed at the inconsistency of those that are always "prating" about inserting the word colored into all our institutions. In this city, in almost all their public documents where it was possible, they have avoided its use. At the great meeting held in this city on the 21st of August last, we are indebted to the Secretaries (*not the meeting*) for the fact that the proceedings emanated from colored people.

Even in the last resolution the meeting adopted, the term colored was left out, where there could have been no plausible objection to its use, viz.:

"*Resolved*, That the young men of Philadelphia will support the 'Colored American,' while it continues that name; under any other head they will disown it."

We have often heard that there was much in a *name*; but we never saw it so plainly exemplified, as in the adoption of that resolution.

We read over the list of distinguished names attached to the proceedings, and we can truly say we felt for our old friends. Had we have been present, we should have, for their sakes, opposed its adoption. What! support the "Colored American" only on account of its name? Is the untiring labor of its editor not to be regarded—or the principles he advocates appreciated? What! your love for the cause of truth and human liberty absorbed in a name? Let the editor publish what he chooses, his paper will receive the support of the "young men of Philadelphia," provided its name be not altered. We read the "Colored American" with a very different interest. It is for the principles it inculcates, and the measures it supports. If it contained no other matter than the editorial paragraphs against prejudice in the church, every subscriber would be liberally rewarded for the price of his subscription. The editor ought to have bestowed on the resolution his unqualified censure! These sticklers for the term colored ought, by their communications, to make the body of the paper represent its head.

Our friend Watkins, while he is opposed to blotting out what he terms "the endearing epithet, *colored*," says that "I am unfriendly to a prodigal use, or unnecessary parade of the word." We say, that we recommend its abandonment, as far as possible. What then is the difference, except that, by pursuing our course, we are using the means necessary to procure the abolition of its "prodigal use?"

In our advocacy of this subject we are maintaining principles that strike at the root

of national prejudices. Our object is to denounce the actors and abettors of "the prejudice of caste" as "demons incarnate." It is not our business to inquire whether they are *white*, or *colored*. It is sufficient to know they are human beings; and we pronounce them the enemies of both God and man. We are not among those that would excuse the *colored man's* guilt, on account of the *white man's* crime. To do so would degrade the former, and elevate the latter. We are all moral agents, and have a present accountability to answer for our support to the principles of God's moral government. We shall conclude this subject in our next.

BALTIMORE, August 13th, 1838.

Friend Burr,—I rise this morning very early to discharge a duty which I have been compelled to delay to the last hour, but which, if totally neglected, would, I am sure, bring down upon me the ire of you and friend Whipper, which I cannot but deprecate this hot weather. I see clearly (what I am very reluctant to communicate) that I shall not be with you at your approaching anniversary. This disappointment to you and some of my too partial friends, whom I should rejoice to see once more, is a source of unfeigned regret to me. Indeed, nothing but circumstances of an unusually forbidding character, could influence me to forego the happiness which I should realize from a visit to friends distinguished for their intelligence, respectability, and warm-hearted hospitality. But though it is not my privilege to bear some humble part in your deliberations, yet, I assure you, I still take an intense interest in your doings, especially such of them as evince a determination to repudiate the word "*colored*," as inapplicable to us as individuals, associations, or as a people. I am also of opinion, that so much of your past doings as go to decry, in effect, the existence of a distinct organization, by ourselves, of a society specifically devoted to the interests of the colored population of our country, have, with all due deference, been rather hastily adopted; and should, I think, be re-considered.

First, as to the distinguishing epithet, "*colored*," I would ask, what is there in the term exceptionable? Does it convey an idea of degradation? Does it cast odium upon those whom it designates? None, I presume, will affirm this. Are you afraid, then, that the use of the word will remind the white people of this nation that one-sixth portion of

their fellow countrymen may, by certain physical peculiarities, be distinguished from themselves? Surely, you are not so much like those who fear the *mere sight*, by the slaves, of pictorial representations of their *actual* sufferings, will excite them to deeds of violence. Will any say that the applicability of this term to us as a people is not philosophically correct? Let those prove it who can. Without stopping, however, to contend with our hair-splitting hypercritics, on this point, permit me to say, that words are used as the signs of our ideas, and whenever they perform this office, or are truly significant of the ideas for which they stand, they accomplish the object of their invention. In vain do we carp at some supposed inapplicability of a term as applied to a certain object, when imperious custom, or common consent, has so established the relation between the sign or word, and the thing signified, that as soon as the sign or word is presented to the eye, or its sound conveyed to the ear, the idea which it represents is immediately and distinctly brought to the mind. This is the case with the word in question. Custom has fixed its meaning in reference to a particular people in this country, and from this decision, however arbitrary, there is, I am sure, no successful appeal. Again, to decry the use of the word "*colored*," on account of some questionable inaccuracy in its applicability to us, is an argument which, if successful, would blot out from our English vocabularies certain words which are of established usage, or which have received the sanction of the best speakers and writers of the language. As an illustration: we correctly say (yielding to the imperious dictates of custom) that a thing is *good*; a second, *better*; a third, *best*;—that the pen I had was *bad*, the one with which I now write is *worse*, and the one before me is the *worst*. This is the established mode of speech; but suppose that some of our innovating hypercritics were to affirm that these epithets should no longer be so irregularly compared—that according to the genius and analogy of our language, we ought to say, *good*, *gooder*, *goodest*;—*bad*, *badder*, *baddest*. What advantage, I ask, would be gained by insisting upon the adoption of this uncouth phraseology? What success, think you, would attend this proposed innovation? Precisely that which awaits all resolutions calling upon us to blot from our institutions, periodicals, &c., not the word *African*, but the appropriate, and, may I not say, the endearing epithet, "*colored*." The truth is, while I am unfriendly to a prodigal use, or an unnecessary parade of the word, I must say it is too convenient in prac-

tice to be dispensed with, unless you furnish us a substitute of paramount utility.

Once more. If I am not mistaken, the "American Moral Reform Society" assumes the ground, or has virtually decided, that an organization for the *exclusive* benefit of the colored population of the country, is selfish, and totally at variance with the moral obligation to do good to all men, agreeably to the principles of universal benevolence. Now, I hold to these principles, that is, I believe we should do good to all, irrespective of color, &c., but I deny that an organization of the exclusive cast alluded to, *necessarily* militates against these principles. I believe they are perfectly reconcilable. On this point, it seems, we are at issue. Let me illustrate my position. On my passage to Philadelphia, two men, the one white and the other colored, fall overboard—five passengers, all white men, and myself, behold the heart-rending scene—the drowning men cry for help—the five white men, having contracted a deep-rooted hatred against a sable hue, and actuated by a sympathy of color, and a supposed identity of interest with the drowning white man, run *en masse* to succor him; I, finding the colored man neglected, from an unworthy principle, spring to his rescue, and stretch out, not one hand to the white man (who has already abundant help) and the other to the colored man, but I reach out both hands to him who has none to help him:—I concentrate all my energies in one vigorous effort to extricate him, who, under these circumstances, most needs help. Is this, in the language of your Circular, "to be governed by the most invidious of all creeds that ever regulated human duty, viz., the complexion of the human body?"

Can you find it in you to stigmatize such humanity as "*selfishness*?" I should well deserve the opprobrium, were I actuated by the same narrow-minded views which impelled the white men to rush to the rescue. But I was actuated by a holier impulse. I ran to the relief of the sable sufferer, *not because of his color*, (mark that,) but because, *being colored*, he was despised and neglected by those whose timely aid, properly apportioned, would have been most efficient. You perceive that, *under these peculiar circumstances*, it was my duty to give *all* my aid to the colored man, and this I could do for him without feeling the least want of compassion for the white man; nay, you see clearly, that, were all the circumstances of the case reversed,—that is, had five colored men ran to the relief of the colored man, I would, on the principles laid down, have sprung to the rescue of the

white man. Now, sir, in the candor of your soul, make the application, and then show me, if you can, the difficulties in the way of organizing a Moral Reform Society (on the principles suggested) for the exclusive benefit of our own people. Harmony in our deliberations is of the utmost consequence. Our honest differences should, if possible, be amicably adjusted. No pride of opinion,—no disposition to contend for mere victory, should find place among us for a moment. Whatever sacrifices we can make without a renunciation of principle, or a dereliction of duty, should be made cheerfully for the general good. If, then, we can fall upon some plan that will leave unimpaired those sublime principles of action which embrace, without respect or partiality, the whole brotherhood of mankind,—principles we all profess to admire,—and, at the same time, will limit, for the present, our action to the elevation of our own people, I think we shall accomplish incomparably more good than can be achieved by a tenacious adherence to non-essentials. I hope that the Society will, at this session, adopt some pacificatory course. Were I among you, I should labor for the adoption of the following, or a similar resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the object of *this Society* is to improve the condition; mental and moral, of the colored population of our land; not because they are *colored*, but because, being *colored*, they are, for the most part, despised, neglected, and denied the facilities enjoyed by others, to aspire to the true dignity of rational, intelligent creatures, created in the image of God."

The adoption of a resolution like this, would be as tranquillizing as the pouring of oil upon the troubled waters.

The title of our Society, I have always thought, is rather too sweeping. It embraces, as the founders of it doubtless intended, all the inhabitants of the United States. Now, there is such a thing as propriety; and, it seems to me, that, for a people in our condition, just emerging from darkness and degradation, to assume the office of reforming the whole country, betrays, to say the least, a want of modesty. *We* promote "*education*" among those who enjoy all its facilities, and from whom we are, in this our day of small things, soliciting the crumbs of knowledge! *We* promote the spread of the principles of "*universal liberty*" among a people thoroughly indoctrinated in those principles!

But, upon second thought, we need not grasp at visionary theories here; the object at which we aim is both tangible and practicable; we can "*appeal*" to the "*people*" against, not

only the injustice of our present privations and disabilities, but also against contemplated additional *disfranchisements*, and can thereby inculcate the principles of "*universal liberty*." Go on, in this commendable work. Your "*Appeal*" is a masterly document. My limits remind me that it is time to conclude, which I do abruptly, lest I amplify to tediousness.

Your friend,

WILLIAM WATKINS.

EDUCATION.

The public schools throughout this state, where the school law has been adopted, commence the present month. Let our people, throughout this commonwealth, see to it that their children receive the benefits designed by the Legislature for all. There is no complexional lines in the law; rich and poor, black and white, are all equally entitled to its benevolent provisions.

If you would be mindful of your children's interest, send them to school,—give them as much education as your means and situation will allow; and be sure to bestow on them such moral discipline as will protect and guard them through life. Then their mental discipline will be of great advantage to them; it will teach them to develope and unfold all their moral energies.

A NEW PERIODICAL.

We have received the first Number of the "*Mirror of Liberty*," edited and published by David Ruggles, 136 Lispenard street, New York. It will be published quarterly, on a super-royal sheet of fine paper, in an octavo form, containing sixteen pages, neatly covered. The number before us is marked with ability, and we feel confident that the "*Mirror*" will prove an able coadjutor in the cause of liberty. Its editor is a thorough-going abolitionist,—one that works by day and by night, with his hands, feet, and pen. He is ready at all times, in dangers and perils, to wrest his brethren from the hyenas of the South. He is to the city of New York, what the lamented Shipley was to the city of Philadelphia, the terror of slaveholders and their abettors. He is the most successful, as well as the most inveterate, enemy of the slaveholder. In fine, he may be termed the Gran-

ville Sharpe of the New World. We heartily wish him success in his new undertaking.

We have received from an unknown friend* the "*Journal of the First Annual Session of the Franckean Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, convened at Clay, Onondaga County, N. Y., June 7th, 1838.*" It is a deeply interesting pamphlet, containing thirty-two pages, filled with living matter, on the subject of a Christian and moral reformation throughout the world. It is a noble sight to witness, in this profligate age, (where illustrious professions are bound to a fatal expediency,) the Christian church arising in her might and primitive majesty, to vindicate the cause of the poor and oppressed, and give "succor to the needy." When Christians awake to their duty, then the "wicked flee" as "chaff before the wind." The Christian church will yet vindicate her insulted honor; and expediency and infidelity will seek a burial place in the "caverns of the earth." The principles laid down in the reports of the select committees, are so much in accordance with our own, that we shall transfer several of them to our columns. We have only room in the present number for those on "*Moral Reform*," "*Temperance*," "*Slavery*," and "*Peace*." We recommend them to the attention of our readers.

"REPORT ON MORAL REFORM.

"The select committee to which the subject of Moral Reform was referred, respectfully report:

"That the Bible contains a complete code of holy and useful instruction. It utters a voice of displeasure and condemnation against every species of vice; but of approval of virtue and holiness. The Bible is the textbook of every minister, and teaches rules of life and action for all Christians—all of supreme authority—therefore, ministers should declare the whole counsel of God, and Christians should observe every command. Jehovah says as well, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," as "Thou shalt not steal." Is impurity and licentiousness a vice ruinous and detestable? It not only renders the vicious idle, disorganizes their business, blasts their credit,

* We believe the donor to be our friend William C. Yates, of Troy, N. Y.

transforms them into paupers, mendicants, vagabonds, and thieves; but it impairs the constitution, weakens the intellect, vitiates the moral feelings, destroys self-respect, and abridges human life. It fills the jails with convicts, the hospitals with loathsome patients, the mad-houses with maniacs, and the cities and the country at large with poor, despicable wretches. In fine, the transgression of the seventh commandment destroys virtue and humanity. Notwithstanding all the evils of lewdness, we are almost led to say that it possesses more of the ruinous poison of other vices, while viewing the indifference of the church and the profound silence of the pulpit on this important subject. Can ministers and people continue in the same deep sleep on this subject, and possibly remain guiltless; allowing, without rebuke, this sin to prosecute its damnable work of destruction in immortal souls? A vice great in magnitude and effectual in the destruction of its thousands annually? It grasps and hurls down into wretchedness and degradation some professing godliness. We believe that the church of God is under obligation to suppress vice and promote virtue, stand as a light-house in this gloomy world, and raise a warning voice to all who are drawn by this syren's alluring song down to the gates of the pit, that they might speedily strive to ascend the hill of virtue, and through the Redeemer's blood pluck the laurels of purity and holiness in unfading bloom on the delectable mount of the heavenly Zion. We believe that every Christian and patriot is under peculiar obligations to come up to the help of the Lord, and assail wickedness without mercy, in high and low places, until righteousness shall reign in the earth, and upon every object shall be written, 'Holiness unto the Lord.' Therefore,

"Resolved, That the seventh commandment is of universal obligation; that its uniform observance in thought, word, and action, would prevent numberless crimes, and drive away almost every vestige of heathenism from our far-famed land.

"Resolved, That we deem it the duty of the church and the pulpit, to speak plainly on this subject; no longer to manifest a depraved, culpable, and reckless spirit in cloaking this atrocious vice with pretended 'delicacy.'

"All which is respectfully submitted.

N. VAN ALSTINE,
J. S. ROBINSON,
M. MARCLEY."

"REPORT ON SLAVERY.

"Brother Van Alstine, from the select committee, to whom were referred that part

of the President's report relating to slavery, and sundry petitions from several congregations, would respectfully report:

"That they have considered the subject of slavery, and cannot do otherwise than respond favorably to our petitioners, 'to give our decided testimony against American slavery.' Remembering the spirit of Christ, we would speak mildly, but decidedly. Truth and love are mighty weapons when rightly used, and they are very suitable in putting down all moral evil. Love, meekness, gentleness, with inflexible firmness, are all victorious in removing prejudice and in suppressing vice. Truth, with its keen edge, when wielded with the potent arm of love, will do execution.

"Every Christian and philanthropist, under the proper influence of truth and love, should feel deeply towards the oppressed of our land, that in heart they might realize, and in conduct express, the gospel truth uttered by the servants of God, that we should feel for those in bonds as bound with them, and render unto servants what is JUST and EQUAL. We, as a Synodical body, are averse to American slavery, because it is void of TRUTH and LOVE. What is truth but living facts, realities, things as God made them? Slavery violates the nature and high prerogative of man. God made man free in mind and body; but slavery deprives him of liberty, equality in rank, and the opportunities of elevating character and cultivating the noble powers of mind. Instead of retrieving ruined mind, it only degrades it and reduces it to brutal inferiority. Slavery is opposed to the Bible and its claims. The Bible inculcates the marriage institution; but slavery tramples it in the dust. The Bible teaches certain duties of parents and children, such as "train up a child in the way he should go;" "to train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" but slavery abolishes parental obligation at its own pleasure, and without apparent conviction of doing wrong. It enjoins universal and MUTUAL love; but slavery changes love into a selfish passion, and forbids the master to love the slave himself, and commands the slave to love the slaveholder more than himself. The Bible teaches light and knowledge; but slavery, in its best and mildest forms, keeps back light, and, in some states, prohibits, under penal sanctions, the first rudiments of knowledge to be taught unto the slave. To say that it is imprudent to emancipate the enslaved immediately, is virtually to acknowledge their degradation, and the imperative necessity that something should be done to meliorate their condition;—that

the yoke of bondage should be broken, and nothing short of it. 'To aver that the church should not interfere, is to say, that the church has no right to oppose and reform all moral evil and every heaven-provoking sin. We believe that slavery is stained with the vilest turpitude; therefore, we boldly reprobate its system and exhort the church of God to wash her garments in the blood of the Saviour with deep, broken-hearted repentance, by its entire extirpation. 'To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin.' Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we deem American slavery repugnant to the spirit and tenor of Revelation.

"*Resolved*, That we conceive it to be our imperative duty to speak boldly and plainly against this great national and heinous sin.

"*Resolved*, That we calmly, importunately, and faithfully beseech the church of God no more to be a partaker in the guilt of slavery, and from henceforth, with clean hands, consistently labor for the evangelization of the world.

"*Resolved*, That we prayerfully represent and petition Almighty God to abolish slavery, and preserve our Republic in the enjoyment of her liberty and glories.

"All which is submitted.

"N. VAN ALSTINE, *Chairman*.

"Whereupon, it was

"*Resolved*, That the Synod do hereby unanimously concur in the report of the committee."

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PEACE.

"Brother W. Ottman, from the committee to whom was referred that "part of the President's report, which relates to the subject of Peace," offered the following report, which, having been read and discussed, was unanimously adopted:

"The select committee, to whom was referred that part of the President's report which relates to the subject of Peace, would respectfully report: •

"That whereas this subject has only for a few years past occupied the public attention, yet your committee feel deeply impressed with its importance, and the necessity of its consideration. However, they are constrained to acknowledge that they have not been able to give it that investigation which it demands; but do not hesitate to recommend it to the Christian public, and especially to our ministers and members, for we feel sensible that the Millennial day cannot come in whilst wars and commotions are filling our

land. We would, therefore, respectfully submit the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That in the sense of this Synod, the practice of war is contrary to the spirit and principles of the gospel, and ought to be discountenanced by the followers of the Prince of Peace, in every lawful and proper manner.

"*Resolved*, That we recommend this subject to the members of our churches, and that we believe that Christians are bound by the strongest and most sacred obligations to give it their prayerful and serious examination, that they may be instrumental in removing the calamities and demoralizing influence of wars throughout Christendom and the whole earth.

"*Resolved*, That it is our duty, as disciples of Jesus Christ, to do whatever is within our power to secure the immediate, universal, and permanent abolition of war."

"REPORT ON TEMPERANCE.

"The select committee on so much of the President's report as relates to the subject of *Temperance*, report:

"That the committee have had the subject referred to them under serious consideration, and beg leave to submit to the Synod the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, the cause of temperance is identified with the cause of Christ; and whereas, notwithstanding the full and lucid developement of its principles, and notwithstanding the important changes which have been effected in public sentiment, since the commencement of the temperance reformation, the traffic and use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, is still a most serious and alarming evil in our land—wasting the intellect—deadening the moral sensibilities, and destroying the present and eternal interests of man; and whereas, vigorous and persevering efforts should still be made in this cause, until the evil be entirely removed from the community, and discountenanced by the church—therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we are as much convinced as ever, of the ruinous effects and destructive influence of using and trafficking in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and that it calls upon us to be earnest, diligent, and persevering in our efforts, that the evil may immediately cease.

"*Resolved*, That as we, the Ministers and Delegates of the Synod, have adopted for ourselves the PLEDGE of total abstinence from all that intoxicates, as a beverage, we do hereby respectfully and affectionately recommend the same to the members of all our churches.

"Resolved, That we believe the license law to be directly calculated to perpetuate the evils of intemperance, and that we can never expect to witness the effectual and permanent suppression of this vice till the said law be repealed.

PHILIP WIETING,
N. VAN ALSTINE,
JACOB PINK."

The "Ladies Vigilance Association" are preparing for a fair—to promote the objects of their Society. Donations in goods or money will be gratefully received at "Salter's Rooms," Elizabeth street.

We hope the friends of the "hapless and forlorn" will be liberal in their gifts—for never were the objects of a Society more holy, humane, and philanthropic.

We refer our readers to the advertisement of the "Requited Labor Grocery and Dry Goods Store," kept by that early, devoted, and self-sacrificing philanthropist, Lydia White—where (as we know) the luxuries, as well as the necessities of life can be obtained, in good quality, uncontaminated by the sweat and blood of brutalized humanity.

WEST INDIES.

The total and complete emancipation of all the slaves in the British West Indies, on the first of August last, was the noblest triumph of truth, humanity, and justice, over despotism, cruelty, and avarice, the world ever saw. The light of heaven never beamed on a day so glorious to the friends of freedom throughout the world,—it has no parallel in antiquity, and can never be equalled until a like event takes place in the United States. Like the flash of vivid lightning, it has thrown American slaveholders into terror, while its deafening thunders have smote the pro-slavery press dumb. The news from the islands is of the most cheering nature. The eastern winds are no longer freighted with the groans of the slave, but the shouts of victory and emancipation are proclaimed on every breeze. The tides no longer heave their rolling billows on England's slave-curst soil; but both winds and waves bear to our shores the indignation of the British mind against our execrable sys-

tem of oppression—"our stripes and bonds," our "chains and charters."

The Janus-faced monster—African Colonization—that appeals to the prejudice of the North, while it labors for the interest of the South, will soon stand as motionless as a marble statue. The problem on which its arguments are based will soon be solved. The prosperity of the West India Islands will soon settle the question, whether white and colored persons can live in the same community in a state of social and civil equality. It will be absolute vanity for American slaveholders to attempt to postpone the final emancipation of every slave in these United States to a very distant period. If they would succeed in doing so, they must stop all communication between man and the Almighty—place fetters on the human mind, and manacle the liberal principles of this age—dissolve science—petrify the moral feelings of our country and the world—destroy internal improvements—stop the power of steam—nullify the press—put an embargo on knowledge, power, and the love of liberty—and, in fact, destroy human nature itself.

INTEMPERANCE.

Intemperance is a mean, contemptible, and degrading vice. Unlike *slavery* and *prejudice*, it stretches its "deleterious wand" over the high and the low, the rich and the poor. It disdains to be confined to rank, dignity, honor, or complexional boundaries. It aims its deadly weapons at all, and deals out its death-stings against the interests of the human race. Our country now presents a melancholy example of "*rum* and *ruin*." It may truly be asserted that it is a national evil, and that the people of this nation are, in the aggregate, sufferers. It is an evil that has crept into the church, and become interwoven into the framework of civil government, and contaminated the morals of this nation. While it is overthrowing the strong and "mighty" throughout our land, it is forging fresh chains for the weak and defenceless. It receives its only support from the enemies of religion, morality, freedom, and happiness. And who

are *they*, but the consumers of ardent spirits, the distillers, and the traffickers in that deadly poison? The traders in grain that furnish the distillers with the means of manufacturing "liquid poison" for the destruction of human souls, deserve to be ranked with these "human destroyers." And now we desire to address ourselves to our colored brethren of the nominally free states. How far are you concerned in perpetuating this national guilt? So far as your practice coincides with the above description, we have ranked you with the enemies of God and human nature. Considering the peculiar situation you occupy, in a land famed for its profession of liberal principles, and republican equality, if you are so ignorant as to become the base worshippers of the god Bacchus, you are "the blindest of the blind." Are you not sufficiently downtrodden by oppression and prejudice, besides being cut off from all your natural and republican rights, to render you sufficiently debased in the eyes of the world, without destroying your natural bodies, and thus making yourselves fit subjects to lick "the dust from your oppressors' feet?" We admonish you for your own sakes, your children's, and for the sake of posterity, that as far as you are engaged in the detestable business of making drunkards, either by practice, theory, or example, that ye now do REPENT, and *abandon it*. The most despicable advocate a bad cause ever had, is the colored man in the free states that supports *dram drinking*. We know that many will object to this language, as being too severe; but we tell you once for all, we do not expect to please you as long as you love *whiskey*. Think not that you will be allowed to escape without a complexional description. That is not our intention. We are engaged in a cause whose principles are of sufficient latitude to allow us to call persons and things by their established names. We therefore say to the winebibbing oracles of divinity—the alcohol deacons and elders—the dram-drinking and mint-julap dandies, and the "pious and respectable" rum-sellers,—stop your course, or we shall find a place in our paper for your names and residences, that will sufficiently mark you out to

the lovers of temperance and order, and bring down upon you the pity, contempt, and righteous indignation of insulted humanity. You are now the enemies of God and man. By your present course, you are bringing down on us a mountain of degradation and oppression; and we will not suffer you to trifle with the interests of millions without a solemn rebuke. You ought all to be engaged in the philanthropic cause of driving the "hydra-headed" monster, intemperance, from the land. We ought not to rest satisfied until colored men become emancipated from this evil. Our efforts should not cease while a single human being was bound in the fangs of the "monster."

In the present organization,* which a kind Providence has been pleased to establish for the deliverance of our country from slavery and prejudice, the nominally free, as well as the enslaved, are attached to the car of freedom. If we are temperate, moral, and upright, we shall be able to accelerate its velocity,—if not, we shall retard its progress. We stand in the same situation with regard to the cause of freedom in this country and throughout the world, that our brethren in Antigua and Bermuda occupied before the final achievement of British emancipation in the West Indies. They acted nobly their part—let us follow their example.

PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION.

"Why don't you go to the South?" Because the governor's election in this state has been decided in favor of slavery? Pennsylvanians, and friends of freedom! you have a great work at home to perform, before you can consistently cross "Mason and Dixon's line," to instruct your Southern "neighbors" in the sublime doctrine of "human rights." The fiendish *spirit of slavery* is rife in your midst! The land of Penn groans with oppression!—a soul-withering prejudice, as poisonous to the atmosphere of humanity as the "Upas of Java," ushers forth its pestilential breeze against the interests of her colored citizens! A morbid and sickly sensibility on

* American Anti-Slavery Society.

the elementary principles of right and justice, controls public sentiment throughout the entire commonwealth. *The church winks at it*,—a base, immoral expediency, is its body guard,—political parties furnish the fuel, and fan its “burning blaze.” Oh! friends of freedom! we again beseech you to follow the example of “Omar the Prudent,” and never “go abroad while so much remains to be done at home.” We implore you to come to the rescue! Religion has been assailed in the temple and the altar,—liberty has been smitten in her highest citadel—philanthropy mourns, and humanity weeps, when justice is mocked, while “pity has hidden herself,” and *benevolence* and *mercy* are under arrest. Freedom of discussion has been *stricken down* by the conflagration of a *noble castle*, dedicated as a *trophy* to its free and unrestrained exercise. The right of petition has been wounded in the persons of our representatives, and trial by jury *lies buried*. Wake! wake! rise from your graves, ye sainted spirits! the immortal Franklin, Rush, Wistar, Benezet, Lay, Woolman, and Rawle,—and behold with pitying eyes the home of Penn, the fatal shipwreck of principles he labored to establish, and you to perfect.

The recent election for governor, has been distinguished for all that is mean and contemptible in the “spirit of party”—all that is degrading and dishonorable in principle, and all that is debasing in the demoniac system of gambling. Each party have endeavored to prove that their favorite candidates were the friends of slavery, and the enemies of equal and impartial liberty. The pivot on which the election was expected to turn, was on the great question of *liberty* and *slavery*. The Supreme Court, our highest judicature, appeared willing to bow to the supremacy of custom, and pay its devotion to a vitiated public sentiment, by disfranchising her colored citizens, contrary to the expectations or views of a majority of the most eminent jurists and legislators throughout the state. To secure the old constitution from being annihilated, was a darling object with the judiciary, as well as the friends of equal rights. If this could be

obtained by sacrificing the rights and privileges of the colored citizens, it was known that but *few would regret it*. The contest is now over; the battle is ended, and the cry of victory hails from another quarter. The amended constitution is adopted by a meagre majority; we are disfranchised;—and what has been gained by the decision of the Supreme Court? *Why, all, all is lost!* The disfranchised voters could have re-elected our patriotic governor (Ritner)—saved the old constitution, and the character of our state. Thus “the very stones which the builders rejected would have become the head of the corner.” Brethren, be not discouraged,—the Keystone state will never elect another chief magistrate by the same *Satanic devices*. The present sacrifice of principle has been given as a donation to the South in favor of slavery. In another three years our state will be redeemed, and she will demand her capital, invested in Southern slavery, with compound interest. Our friends, the abolitionists, have suffered with us in the wholesale and lying abuse of political presses. When Pennsylvania becomes emancipated from “Southern thralldom,” and stands forth free and regenerated, the rights and liberties of 40,000 freemen will arise with her entombed philanthropy that now lies immured in the “grave of despotism.” This glorious event must take place—our religion vindicates it—justice and republican policy demand it. Our oppressors are but *men*; and their blasphemous professions, and wicked impolicy with regard to the rights and interests of the colored population of this country, cannot long withstand the piercing scorn and blighting indignation of the civilized world.

ANNIVERSARIES.

The “FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST ASSOCIATION” convened at Columbia, (Pa.) about the middle of last month. We have not yet learned whether any measures were adopted for the promotion of *education, temperance, or moral reform*. There were several ministers present, and, we believe, delegates from all their churches. They were in session

several days. As it is our intention to notice the proceedings of "ecclesiastical bodies" in general on the subject of "human rights," "temperance and moral reform," we give this timely notice to our brethren in general, that they need not be disappointed if we animadvert on their negligence with regard to that portion of Christian duty with some severity. Our brethren have been very remiss in their duty, by not more frequently directing the influence of the church in favor of human improvement. If there be any of our readers whose curiosity leads them to inquire, why we, who are charged with being such sticklers for the abolition of distinctions, use the term "African," when speaking of churches amongst "colored people?"—we answer, because we are opposed to the term, as applied to American citizens. It is *untrue, superfluous, and unnecessary*. Our people, in general, are opposed to it; but they are very inconsistent, because they take no measures for its abolition. If they can get us to call their institutions by the term "colored," they are satisfied. They wish us to say colored churches, colored schools, colored temperance societies, and colored beneficial societies, &c. This we will not do, brethren, especially when the incorporated name is "African." We go for calling things by their right names. Whenever we have chosen to have our institutions incorporated, we have invariably "baptized" them with the title of "African." It is full time we had become "Americanized." If you do not desire to be termed "Africans," you must quit legalizing your institutions with that title. We desire to bring the practice into disrepute, by calling your institutions by the names you have chosen to adopt. We speak incorrectly when we say "colored churches, schools," &c., when we know their lawful title is "African." Some may say, the custom has become so interwoven in our institutions, that it is impossible to eradicate it. Our advice is, form no more; and if you are dissatisfied with the names of existing ones, apply to the legislatures of the states in which you reside, for an alteration of your charters.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The report of the Vigilance Committee came too late for this number; we will publish it in our next.

We expect in our next to lay before our readers the address to our colored brethren in the "West Indies," if the committee appointed to prepare that document should report in time.

For the National Reformer.

CONTENTMENT OF SLAVES.

It has been again and again asserted by the advocates of slavery, that slaves are kindly treated, contented,—better off in bondage than when free. Why, then, do they run out of slavery into freedom? Why are they daily seen *streaking* it almost in one unbroken file, men, women, and children, across our fields, over mountain and over glen, through mud and mire, wet and dry, cold and hot, half naked, half famished, seeking liberty and happiness away up yonder amid the frosts and snows of Canada, and under the monarchical government of a queen of old England? Account for it if you can, ye abettors of slavery and colonization.

I have just seen one of these contented souls. He informed me that he fancied he would be vastly more contented in Canada without a master, than in Virginia with one; and that, accordingly, he was journeying forward, *incog.*, to that land of liberty, with as much despatch as possible, lest he should be overtaken and remanded to the land of the patriarchs, contentment, and happiness. By this time he is out of danger, breathing the air of liberty.

Among the numerous acts of kindness on the part of the patriarchs to these contented ones, which he related to me, take the following as a sample, and record them in your valuable journal for the benefit of those whom it may concern. Daniel Somers and wife, of Fauquier County, Virginia, killed a female slave of theirs by flogging her, because she *could* not blow the horn! James Ross, of the same place, often inflicted 200 lashes at a time, upon Charles, one of his slaves, to increase his contentment. Had seen Ross strip a female slave stark naked, and inflict on her bare body 100 stripes, for taking a dozen eggs to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Knew Mrs. Hicks, his mistress, to take a female slave, 18 years old, up stairs, tie her up till her tongue came out of her mouth, and afterward kick

her so severely, that in three or four days she died of such barbarous treatment. Hicks, his master, had children by his female slaves, and frequently sold them, and now has in his possession a Charles Stanberry, who was free born, and bred ten miles from Philadelphia. Has known colored ministers, authorized to preach, dragged out of the pulpit, and lynched for so doing. Rial Glasgow whipped his slaves cruelly because they inclined to join the Baptist Church. A herring a day, and a peck of corn meal a week, was his master's allowance to his field hands. Oh! what a blessed institution.—*Esto perpetua!* J. S. P.

To the Editors of the National Reformer.

Much esteemed Friends:—Agreeably to my promise, made when we last met, I proceed to redeem my pledge. Since my return home, I have carefully read the first number of the National Reformer; and, after mature reflection, I assure you, dear friends, I hail its appearance as a work every way worthy the high esteem I had long since entertained for its projectors and conductors. Choice spirits! regenerated minds! requiring only to be known, in order to be properly appreciated, respected, and cherished. Well may it be said, that "great minds are not only ready to seize upon opportunities, but they make them themselves." They who engage in the arduous and holy cause of moral reform, must, like the meted steeds of Actæon, pursue the game, not only where there are paths, but where there are none; they must pass the time-honored limits of antiquity, overstep the sickly laws of fashion, and discard the time-serving and time-observing advocates of a system framed by the corrupt public sentiment of a vicious and immoral age, without a solitary redeeming trait to recommend it but its boasted antiquity, while at the bar of Universal Love, it stands convicted of the misery, the wretchedness, the moans and lamentations of the thousands and tens of thousands of immortal souls, shipwrecked and dashed in pieces on that accursed rock formed by the Scylla of guilt and Charybdis of oppression. My dear friends, hold up the torch of truth,—elevate high the spotless banner of "Moral Reform;" and, if unavoidable, let us enter alone the trackless wilderness, untrodden by mortal feet, to travel on a path *which the vulture's eye hath not seen, nor the lion's whelps trodden, nor hath the fierce lion passed thereon,*—I say, if necessary to the moral reformation and the intellectual regeneration of an admitted unhappy and perishing people, such a course be necessary,—and such are my convic-

tions at the present,—then let us bestir ourselves, and prepare for the contest, the great struggle between truth and error. And here, may we not pause, and ask of those who have arrived at the point at which they had predetermined to stop, not to obstruct the efforts, or traduce the merits of others, who have determined to continue in the cause of humanity and moral reform, until their labors are happily consummated, or themselves are gathered "the way of all flesh" in the dark confines of the "valley of the shadow of death?" In this holy work, I apprehend we shall be nobly sustained by the virtuous females of our land, particularly those that are mothers. Mother! what celestial tenderness dwells in that blest name! and my own fond remembrance clings to that loved sound with more than the thrice-told affection of earliest youth! Mothers, then, lend us your aid for those who are dearer to you than life, for those to whom you have given life, "and whom to lose is only bitter to you, only dying." Give a sanction and a support to a cause that may operate in your own flesh and blood, when your personal influence can be no longer felt; instil a sound moral principle into every young heart of yours, that shall guide and restrain by the memory of a mother's love, when a mother's heart has ceased to beat. When I first read your proposals for the publication of the National Reformer, I felt sorry that it had become necessary to start a new periodical at this time; in fact, I doubted the policy of the undertaking, as I was fearful that the *starting* of a new publication just now might endanger the existence of the "Colored American," a paper which had done so much in the cause of truth and virtue, and which is so richly deserving of our whole united care and patronage. I felt afraid, too, that unthinking persons might *torture* them into opposite interests. I was satisfied that there was ample room for action, should they even be increased fourfold,—and work enough, were the laborers increased a hundred fold; and the only problem in the case which presented any difficulty in the demonstration, was, where is the patronage to come from? I knew that our means were scanty, and our resources feeble; but I reflected, that the grandest results attend the simplest means, and that pillars and pyramids are projected and elevated by the simple power of combination and effort. I had read, too, that *naughty little a, b, c,* was the ladder that conducted a Bacon and a Newton to scan the walls of heaven:—so disproportionate are the results to the simplicity of the means used. It is true, we are what the

world vulgarly terms unfortunate; but, with the good St. Pierre, I believe the misfortunes of the virtuous often work to their advantage. When persecuted by the world, they are generally driven into some illustrious career. Misfortune is the road to great talents, or, at least, to great virtues, which are far preferable. And thus reasoning, I was led to the conclusion, that combination, union, and effort, could and would sustain all our publications; thus all my doubts and fears were driven to the winds. Again, the great principles, involved in the contest, are the principles, I trust, of my latest and last love. I could not oppose them—they are unbending truths,—though I might have been favorable to some other mode of propagating them. Yet I am satisfied; I am with you, and such as my broken and weak abilities are, they are in the cause. You, dear friends, know I could not act otherwise, without committing suicide on my own conceptions of right and wrong. Let us always, then, bear in mind, that the intellectual principle detained in an immoral or debased body, like the martyr in his dungeon, may retain its value, but has lost its usefulness.

Finally, that the great, unerring principle of Eternal Light may guide and direct us into all profitable wisdom, and enable us all firmly to unite in the cause of truth, is the ardent desire of your friend,

J. C. MOREL.

Harrisburg, October 16th, 1838.

For the National Reformer.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 15, 1838.

Messrs. Editors:—The author of the following letter is a very interesting boy, between thirteen and fourteen years of age. The circumstance that gave rise to it, you perceive, is shown upon its face. If you think, with me, that its publication will have a tendency to stimulate some of your young readers to renewed diligence in the improvement of their minds, you will be so good as to give it a place in your paper, and oblige

Yours, &c.

W. D.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 24th, 1838.

Dear Sir:—I sit down to pen a few thoughts to you, in compliance with your request. My father received your letter dated August 27th, in which, I perceive, you desire me to write you a letter, the contents of which are to consist of a few remarks on the Bible, &c., which remarks I shall now attempt to make.

First, then, you desire to know, whether or not I read the Bible much? I do; but more especially that portion of it called the New Testament. The benefit resulting from a pe-

rusal of the New Testament, is, indeed, very great. I conceive the Bible to be the most excellent book in the world. Its contents are invaluable, and should be continually studied, on account of the supreme dignity of its Author. It is of celestial origin. It came from God. It came from Him who is the Ruler of the universe—who is the Creator of the world—who “holdeth the wind in his fists, and the waters in the hollow of his hands.” It came from Him who “stretcheth forth the heavens alone—who spreadeth abroad the earth by himself;” who “maketh the clouds his chariot, and rideth upon the wings of the wind.” It is this heavenly book that informs us, that we are but sojourners here; that we have immortal souls; souls which are destined either to live happy in the regions of everlasting bliss, or be for ever miserable in the dark and bottomless pit. It informs us that a day of final retribution is approaching—that awful day, when the Lord shall come in his glory—when millions, who are now entombed in the narrow confines of the grave, shall rise, shall burst the bands of death, and go forth to meet their Judge. Were it not for this heavenly book, we would be ignorant of these weighty, these momentous truths. Then, sir, if the Scriptures contain doctrines so intimately connected with our eternal welfare, we should be thoroughly acquainted with them.

There is no where to be found such important information, as in the Scriptures of the New Testament. They teach us there is a God,—that he is a Spirit,—and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth. They teach us, that he is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, eternal, and immutable. They teach us that the human heart is corrupt,—that man is fallen from his original rectitude, and can be restored to the favor and image of God, by repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, who made an atonement for every child of man. They teach us that we must be always ready, as we know not the hour in which the Son of Man shall come,—that the soul shall, after death, pass into another world,—that all mankind shall rise from their graves, to meet the Judge of quick and dead, who shall reward the righteous, and punish the wicked, according to their deserts. We learn from the New Testament, that there are two great principles which regulate us in our duties towards our heavenly Father, and to our fellow creatures, viz. love to God, and love to mankind. With respect to God, we are to fear, to serve, to worship, and obey him; we are commanded

to love him with all the heart, soul, mind, and strength; to do nothing which is inimical to his holy will; to do all things with an eye to his honor and glory. With respect to our neighbor, we are commanded to love him as ourselves,—to exercise towards him, truth, charity, equity, and benevolence; it is our duty, in the spirit of meekness, to reprove him, not to suffer sin upon him; to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us. Upon these two principles, viz. love to God, and our neighbor, are based the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The gospel enjoins a forgiving temper, and condemns a revengeful one; it requires us to set our affections, not on the things of this world, but on the things above. The Bible is, indeed, consoling to the Christian, while passing through this inhospitable wilderness. When hunted like the beast of the forest,—when persecuted,—when reviled on account of his religion,—when his nearest friends, nay, when his father and mother forsake him, he can read his Bible, and there enjoy peace and consolation. He there finds, that when his father and mother forsake him, then the Lord will take him up,—that he will be his protector,—that his Saviour has declared, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and shall persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, falsely, for my sake;" "Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven." The Bible is a "lamp unto his feet, and a light unto his path;" "a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night." In the midst of persecutions and sore conflicts, it cheers and comforts him. He can say, in reference to this heavenly book:

"Here are my choicest treasures hid,
Here my best comfort lies;
Here my desires are satisfied,
And hence my hopes arise.
For here I learn how Jesus died,
To save my soul from hell;
Not all the books on earth beside,
Such heavenly wonders tell."

Sir, I have very imperfectly complied with your request. The inaccuracies you may discover, you will, I am sure, attribute to the inexperience of my youth.

Yours, &c. &c.,

W. I. W.

We have received the following letter for publication. It is from the agent of the American Moral Reform Society.

For the National Reformer.

BURLINGTON, Sept. 17th, 1838.

Mr. John Burr:

Dear Sir:—I arrived here this evening, at half past seven o'clock, where I was received,

and hospitably entertained, at the house of Mr. Henry Davis. Previous notice having been given, I repaired to the place for lecture, where I found a large congregation in waiting. I addressed them at some length, in which time the greatest interest was manifested. My esteemed friend, A. M. Freeman, agent for the Colored American, who was present, made an able and interesting address. Mr. J. Parrish, son of the venerable Dr. Parrish, of Philadelphia, in some happy and appropriate remarks, defended our brethren in Burlington from the aspersions of their enemies. Morally and mentally, our "colored" brethren here will compare with any town in the United States. They have a day school, also a Moral Reform Society in a very flourishing condition. Under the banner of *union* they seem to rally, and it is indeed consolatory to see the good people of this town laying aside sectarianism and local jealousies for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. I recommended to the brethren the importance of forming a county society. The meeting was closed in fervent prayer to God, by the Rev. Mr. —, circuit minister.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN B. ROBERTS.

CHASTITY.

Chastity consists in a fixed abhorrence of all forbidden sensual indulgences; a recollection of past impurities with shame and sorrow; a resolute guard over the thoughts, passions, and actions for the future; a steady abstinence from the most distant approaches of lust and indecency; a lively consciousness of the omnipresence of the Almighty, who sees and knows all our actions, and our most hidden thoughts, and who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.

WISDOM.

Honors, monuments, and all the works of vanity and ambition, are demolished and destroyed by time, but the reputation of wisdom is venerable to posterity.

CONSCIENCE.

A good conscience is to the soul what health is to the body. It preserves a constant ease and serenity within us, and more than countervails all the calamities and afflictions that can befall us.

LYDIA WHITE'S
REQUIRED LABOR GROCERY

AND
DRY GOODS STORE,
No. 219 North Second street, Philada.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 3.

PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER, 1838.

VOL. I.

REV. WILLIAM WATKINS' LETTER.

No. 1.

IN our last, we promised to continue our notice of this letter in the present number; we shall be as brief as possible. Mr. W. follows in the path of his predecessors that have written on this subject, and without giving us arguments to prove the necessity of inserting the term "colored," with an air of triumph proceeds by interrogation, and says, "does it (the term 'colored') convey an idea of degradation?" We shall pay him in his own coin, by saying, "does it convey an idea" of merit? If not, why should we be so very tenacious about its constant use. Is it not generally used in churches, schools, moral and beneficial societies, as a term to designate the boundary of action on *moral and Christian duty*? If so it maintains in practice a doctrine that is at war with the principles of universal benevolence; and is therefore evil in its tendency.

Mr. W. in his steamboat illustration, as far as he proves anything, proves all we desire. 1st. That with regard to the sufferers he was guided wholly by a sense of Christian duty, and not by the heathenish and selfish spirit of caste. 2d. That all who are governed by those "invidious distinctions" deserve to be "stigmatized with the opprobrium of selfishness." 3d. That if he himself had been pledged by a declaration of principles to *always* labor for the "*exclusive* benefit" of the colored man, he would not have been at liberty to extend a helping hand to the drowning white man, even if the whole company had been engaged in snatching the colored man from a watery grave.

Mr. W. objects to the title of our Society as being "too sweeping." We frankly confess that, after reading all the previous part of the letter, that paragraph struck us with astonishment. We were not prepared to hear from such a pledged advocate of universal

rights and eternal truths a recommendation to narrow down our principles to the diminutive standard of the detestible prejudice with which we are surrounded. No, we cannot do it. Heaven forbid that we should make the attempt. The founders of our Society were fully aware of the position they were taking before the world. In reviewing the condition of our common country, they saw her rocking in the cradle of moral death; and that nothing could save her from destruction, but a recurrence to those great moral principles that have in all ages preserved mankind from the fury of the "destroying angel." They believed in the efficacy of moral truth to heal the worst of national maladies. They knew that one-sixth of this nation was enslaved, and a larger portion was oppressed, while the whole white and colored were contaminated with the "prejudice of caste." They knew that national evils required national remedies. They looked upon the overthrow of slavery by the power of truth and love as morally certain. They clearly saw that "prejudice of caste" held a higher seat in the affections of the people of the United States, than slavery itself. They believed that national happiness depended on its abolition. In the language of friend W., they forgot their "degraded condition," in the nobleness of the enterprise. They discarded the formal rules of "propriety" that slavery and prejudice had engendered, and determined to enlist as *men* to aid in their annihilation. They laid the basis of an institution on the eternal principles of God's moral government, and formed a structure thereon sufficiently comprehensive to embrace every man, woman, and child in the United States. There is none, of whatever rank, rich, poor, old, young, black, or white, but may be benefited by being associated for the execution of such a grand design. None are prohibited from joining it. We named it American, that we might express our national feelings and

national attachments. We commend it to the patronage of every American that loves his country, and desires the peace and happiness of mankind. If the whole American people were to subscribe to our principles in sincerity, neither slavery nor prejudice would live a single hour. The assumption that anything is morally improper for a colored man to perform that is morally right for a white man to do, is an impeachment of the equal endowments of our human nature. Hence, we offer no apology for the commencement of any undertaking, however insignificant.

Mr. Watkins says we aim to "spread the doctrines of Universal Liberty," among a people thoroughly indoctrinated in those principles? We believe to the contrary. We consider the majority of the people of this nation, with regard to the subject of "Universal Liberty," are both blind and dumb. Mr. W.'s letter bears the impress of haste, and as our object was not criticism, but explanation, we shall conclude the subject. We have not sought controversy, but those who have read the "Colored American" of August last, will see that we could not avoid noticing this letter.

"SHERIDAN'S LETTER."

We have just read a well-written letter from "Louis Sheridan" to Lewis Tappan, Esq., of New York, descriptive of all in and about one of those sublunary planets of that "Heaven-born scheme," the American Colonization Society. The place where Mr. Sheridan has located is called Edina, so christened, we believe, by that valiant and *eminently distinguished* Quaker, brother Elliott Cresson, Esq., to commemorate the liberality of the good citizens of Edinburgh, who were NOT duped by the oleaginous tongue of brother Cresson, to give their money in furtherance of the designs, "deep and damned," of that most detestable of all *His Satanic Majesty's* contrivances—the American Colonization Society. We will publish Mr. S.'s letter in our next, together with that of our fearless and magnanimous friend and advocate, Lewis Tappan, Esq.

UNIVERSAL LIBERTY.

This doctrine, although it has been shrouded in pagan darkness, superstition, error, and despotism, for five thousand years, claims an existence co-extensive with the history of creation, when "God said, let us make man in our own image, after our likeness; and let *them* have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Thus did our wise and benevolent Creator establish the boundary of man's *dominion*, before our first parents were created. Man was made universally free from the dominion of his fellow man, as well as from the inferior portions of creation. Thus every doctrine that militates against man's universal right to be free, is at war with the will and design of the Almighty. The first issue made against the free and unrestrained exercise of man's right to enjoy liberty, was the day in which human despotism was first born.

Universal Liberty is a grand fundamental principle, that advocates the universality of natural rights and equitable privileges. It is one of God's moral attributes, that is arrayed against slavery and proscription. It holds such an important rank in the moral attributes, that it is impossible to do justice to the cause of Moral Reform, without giving it a conspicuous place in the calendar of operatives. Had its principles been extensively disseminated, slavery could never have been introduced into the world. As a principle, it occupies the loftiest summit, and should hold the highest seat in the affections of a free people. It stands superior to every local object, it maintains a standard that is eternal. It aims a levelling blow at the institutions of slavery over universal space; and when these shall have been abolished, it will teach mankind to perpetuate liberty for ever.

It will be useful to ourselves,—for the depravity of the human heart being ever the same, under whatever complexion it may be veiled, it may be necessary to enforce these principles to prohibit our own people from

entering into the odious crime of enslaving their fellow men.

We give it our support, both as divine and moral agents. For whatever exists, in contradistinction to the divine and moral government, is an enemy to religion and morality; and, consequently, invades both the present and eternal happiness of man. We owe it to our country's independence and national declaration, that its creed may be rendered complete and effectual. We owe it to our enslaved brethren to aid in undoing their heavy burdens. And there is nothing in policy or expediency that should deter us from such a method of action. For there is no situation in which a human being can be placed, with regard to national or individual privileges, that should deter them from asserting and maintaining the truths that are based upon the laws of God, and the rights of man. Whatever consequences may be attendant on such a course, will always redound to the advancement of the cause we aim to promote. The sin of slavery, in this nation, is not wholly confined to any single grade or complexion,—*all*, both *white* and *colored*, the nominally free, as well as the enslaved, are interwoven in the same network. True it is, that there are different degrees of crime and suffering between the tyrant and those oppressed, yet all share the effect of its pollution. It is to throw off this burden, that is already national, wicked, and unnecessary, that is the object of universal liberty to achieve.

And it is not only bodily, but mental enslavement that is to be removed. Under the paralyzing influence of the former, the national mind has become bound within the province of ignorance and superstition. When this great principle shall have become predominant, *man* shall become truly free, both bodily and mentally, standing forth erect, with a free, bold, and intellectual structure; accountable only to his God, and the government of his country, for the ruling of his actions. Men may accommodate themselves to an expediency to pave their way to moral grounds; but, when they assume a great

stand on moral principles, they offend the standard by using an inefficient means for its support. Political policy and expediency may be managed by policy and expediency, because it fulfils a general rule. But what is morally right, can never be morally wrong. All standards must be maintained by principles of their own nature. So, in a moral reformation, we must use the weapons of moral principle to promote the objects of those principles. Our possession of moral rights is inseparably connected with our duty to exercise those rights. The principles of liberty are ever pure and inalienable; and nothing should deter us from giving it a bold and enduring advocacy.

Education will enlarge our faculties, temperance regulate their exercise, and *economy* preserve the materials; but the principles of *universal liberty* must give the *polish*. It pleads alike the interest of the *master* and the *slave*,—its object is *right*, and its action is *love*.

The objection may arise, with some of our brethren, (that have, by the intuition of nature, adopted Dr. Wayland's code of human responsibilities,) that to advocate the principles of universal liberty is taking a stand against slavery in our country similar to the Anti-Slavery Societies; and that we, as "colored people," should keep ourselves separate from any such a method of action. We will take the first proposition for granted, and who dare claim a better right than we to aid in removing the wrongs from our brethren, the slaves.

With regard to the second, we say that we should keep from every thing that is sinful; and, unless it can be proven that to advocate universal liberty is a sin, it is as much incumbent on us, as on any other portion of the American people, to labor for the successful triumph of this great fundamental principle of human rights. Those that have not yet repudiated the system of American slavery, and condemned their own practice with regard to its overthrow, have the first great step to make in this grand reformation. Situated as we are, in relation to the productive and manufacturing interests of this country, we are

constantly strengthening the system of slavery by our patronage of the products of slave labor. When we consider that (what is termed) the free colored population contribute two millions annually to the support of American slavery, an amount sufficient to employ 30,000 slaves annually—with whose stripes and sufferings we are identified day by day in our food and raiment—we abjure the false and limited constructions of human duties, that would go to screen any set, or body of people from action, on account of their complexional variation from that of the oppressor. Contemplate this subject, fellow citizens, and ask yourselves whether an enlightened conscience will sanction your silently looking on at the murdering of your brethren and sisters on the "funeral pyre" of slavery, without enlisting your feelings and action in some MORAL EFFORT for their redemption.

We are all slaveholders indirectly,—the guilt, whether of our own choosing or not, is with us, and the blood-stained garments, with which this giant sin has been covered, lies at our own doors. By partaking of its fruits, in our repast, we give nourishment to slavery, that "Bohun Upas tree," that stands so erect in the Southern portion of our confederacy, and spreads its detestable branches over our whole Union. It powerfully exhibits the fertility of its soil, and the strength and nourishment it receives from an Eastern population.

We publish in part, (the remainder in our next number,) the annexed able review from the "Friend," of this city, entitled "*Remarks on the Opinion of the Supreme Court on the Rights of Colored Persons in relation to Suffrage.*" Although the matter of the Constitution is settled, and the infamous decision of the Chief Justice of non-effect, (for as a signal retribution of Providence, the Judge is disappointed, uprooted, politically guillotined by his own wicked policy, for the very ones disfranchised, by his decision, *could*, and *would*, by their votes, have saved the old Constitution,)—yet we hope that the argu-

ment of the Review will have a salutary influence on the public mind, so as to effect speedily an amendment to the "amended Constitution," in relation to the political rights of those whose complexions are more stable than the uncertain and flickering shade of what is called white.

Remarks on the Opinion of the Supreme Court on the Rights of Colored Persons in relation to Suffrage.

A question of great importance to the colored inhabitants of Pennsylvania has been recently decided by the Supreme Court of this state. The question arose upon a writ of error to the judgment of the common pleas of Luzerne county, in an action by Wm. Fogg, a negro, against the inspector and judges of the election, for refusing his vote. In the Court below the plaintiff recovered. The Supreme Court has decided that, under the present Constitution of Pennsylvania, a negro is not entitled to a vote, and therefore reversed the judgment.

The opinion of the Court was delivered by Gibson, chief justice. This opinion I purpose to examine; and if in this examination I should not attempt a parade of legal learning by quoting a cart-load of authorities which have little or no relation to the question at issue, it is to be hoped the reader will not pay less regard to the argument on that account.

The chief justice begins with the declaration that this *same* question has now arisen the second time. That "about the year 1795, as I have it from James Gibson, Esq., of the Philadelphia bar, the very point before us was ruled by the High Court of Errors and Appeals, against the right of negro suffrage. Mr. Gibson declined an invitation to be concerned in the argument, and therefore has no memorandum of the cause to direct us to the record. I have had the office searched for it; but the papers had fallen into such disorder as to preclude a hope of its discovery. Most of them were imperfect, and many were lost or misplaced. But Mr. Gibson's remembrance of the decision is perfect, and entitled to full confidence. That the case was not reported, is, probably, owing to the fact that the judges gave no reasons, and the omission is the more to be regretted, as a report of it would have put the question at rest, and prevented much unpleasant excitement. Still the judgment is not the less authoritative as a precedent. Standing as the court of last resort, that tribunal bore the same relation to this

Court, that the Supreme Court does to the Common Pleas; and as its authority could not be questioned then, it cannot be questioned now. The point, therefore, is not open to discussion on original grounds." That is, I apprehend, the question is not open to *discussion* at all. It is already decided, and the judges of the Supreme Court are bound by the decision. The High Court of Errors and Appeals are supposed to have given no reasons for their opinion; our present judges are, therefore, not convinced by their reasons but bound by their authority. Whatever reasons the former judges may have had, whether strong or weak, the latter are not at liberty to arrive, by any arguments of their own, at a different conclusion. Having assumed this ground, they might have saved themselves the trouble of giving any arguments upon the subject. They were professedly bound to adopt a particular conclusion. Their business, therefore, was, according to their own principles, to find the best arguments they could in support of it. If the principles of the Constitution, fairly expounded, were in danger of leading to the conclusion that negroes were entitled to vote, the decision of the High Court of Errors and Appeals prohibited its adoption. Our judges may prove that decision to be right, but are not at liberty to prove that it is wrong. Could we expect a clear and candid examination under such circumstances? Whatever arguments may be advanced in support of this conclusion, we are warned, by the announcement which preceded them, to regard the whole as the effort of a special pleader laboring to make the most of his cause, not as the opinion of an independent judiciary expounding the principles of constitutional law, and adopting those conclusions only which are fairly deducible from the premises.

But let us look for a moment at this binding precedent. I confess I should hesitate to admit that such a man as Chief Justice Gibson ever gave the authority of a precedent to a decision said to have been made upwards of forty years ago, but of which no trace can now be found, not even a solitary memorandum, or newspaper record, unless I had some other testimony of the fact than the memory of a single man. Of this James Gibson, Esq. I have no design to speak with disrespect. He is to me a perfect stranger. His fame, till his opinion was given to the world, had never reached my ears. But I must consider his testimony as a very extraordinary foundation upon which to rest an important judicial decision. There are so many points which

may have been connected with the case, and influenced the decision, and yet not involving the general principle of negro suffrage, that we can form no proper judgment of the principles or extent of the decision without a knowledge of these points. We are not even told what the case was, or who were the parties. For any thing we know, a negro or mulatto may have claimed the right to vote, and yet have been unable to prove a residence in the state during the last two years. Or the payment of a tax within that time may not have been proved. James Gibson, Esq., it appears, was not engaged in the discussion; and may very possibly have supposed the decision of the Court to rest on the broad principle of color, instead of its turning upon some incidental circumstance—upon something independent of the thickness of the lips or the crisp of the hair. To make the case a binding precedent, we ought to know, not merely that the Court decided that a negro had not a right to vote, but that *the decision turned upon his being a negro*. Imagine the case to have been similar to that now before us. That a negro had prosecuted the inspectors and judges of an election for refusing his vote, and that the cause was carried by appeal to the court in question. Is it not possible that the judges of the High Court may have thought there was no criminality on the part of the defendants, and that the most which could be charged against them was an error of judgment? If, upon this ground, the Court should have decided against the prosecution, without giving any reason, a lawyer who heard of the decision, but had taken no part in the argument, might very honestly believe, forty-five years afterwards, that the decision was against negro suffrage. A foreigner, who had never been naturalized, may claim the right of suffrage, but the rejection of the claim would not prove that foreigners, when naturalized, must be forever excluded.

But supposing some of us should happen to remember that a different decision was made. If the memory of J. Gibson, Esq., is to be taken instead of a record, perhaps there are some others whose memories extend backwards to the year 1795, and who can perfectly remember what was then held to be law. They may possibly assert that J. Gibson has made an error of a single word in his reminiscences. The declaration that negroes have a right to vote, differs from the assertion that they have not, by a single monosyllable, which may be easily slipped in or out of the memory in forty years. I well remember that near

the close of the last century, but subsequent to the year 1795, I was informed by a man of veracity, who was extensively conversant with the affairs of the people of color, that William Lewis, Esq., a lawyer whose memory will not be soon lost, had, a little while before, established and procured the recognition of a negro's right to vote. Putting, then, the contributions of J. Gibson's memory and mine together, we may infer that the decision, to which he refers, was founded upon some incidental circumstance, and did not involve the general principle. It is obvious that one black man may have claimed the right illegally, and yet the race at large be under no disability in relation to the right of suffrage; but if any one of them has the constitutional right to vote, the race, as a race, is not excluded.

The article in the Constitution, relative to the rights of suffrage, is in the following words: "In elections by the citizens, every freeman of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the state two years before the election, and within that time paid a state or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least six months before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector."

To show that those who are not slaves or servants, are nevertheless not necessarily *freemen* in the sense of the Constitution, the learned judge observes, that "the freedom of a municipal corporation, or body politic implies fellowship and participation of corporate rights; but an inhabitant of an incorporated place, who is neither servant nor slave, though bound by its laws, may be no *freeman* in respect to its government." To prove that the legal meaning of the word *freeman* is not peculiar to British corporations, he cites one of the laws for the government of Pennsylvania agreed upon in England in 1682, in which the word is used in this specific sense: "Every inhabitant of the province that is or shall be a purchaser of one hundred acres of land or upwards, his heirs and assigns, and every person who shall have paid his passage, and shall have taken up one hundred acres of land, at a penny an acre, and have cultivated ten acres thereof; and every person that hath a servant or bondman, and is free by his service, that shall have taken up his fifty acres of land, and shall have cultivated twenty thereof; and every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident in the said province that pays scot and lot to the government, shall be deemed and accounted a *freeman* of the said province; and every such person shall be capable of electing or being elected representatives of the people in Provincial Council or General As-

sembly of the said province." "Now," says Judge Gibson, "why this minute and elaborate detail? Had it been intended that all but servants and slaves should be freemen to every intent, it had been easier and more natural to say so. But it was not intended." Had it been intended that no persons of African descent should be deemed *freemen* in the sense in which the term was then used, it had been easy and natural to say so. The supposition that these laws, if now in force, would exclude the whole African race from the right of suffrage, is altogether gratuitous. The description here given of those who were to be accounted *freemen* capable of electing and being elected representatives, manifestly applies to a large part of the colored race. They are inhabitants of the state, and many of them hold property and pay scot and lot to the government. The design of these laws, which the judge asserts was to admit no man to the freedom of the province who had not a stake in it, would not, *therefore*, exclude the colored race; for they have an interest, as well as the whites, in the prosperity of the country. It must, indeed, be admitted, that the prejudices indulged by the whites against the negro race, have a powerful tendency to alienate their affection from the land of their birth, and to make them enemies to their country. But to pronounce them aliens, destitute of interest in the country, and unfit to be trusted with the rights of suffrage, merely because we ourselves have chosen to treat them as enemies, is neither good policy nor sound law. "That the clause which relates to freedom by service was not intended for manumitted slaves, is evident from the fact that there were none;" consequently, the class which this provision designed to exclude from the freedom of the province could not have been manumitted slaves; "it regarded not slavery, but limited servitude expired by efflux of time." But that is precisely the species of servitude through which a large part of the colored inhabitants of Pennsylvania have passed. By the law of 1780 every child born in the state, after the passage of the act, who would have been a slave if that law had not been made, was declared to be the servant of such person as would have been the owner of such child, provided that law had not been made, to be held until such child should attain the age of twenty-eight years, in the manner, and on the conditions whereon servants bound by indenture for four years are retained; and to be liable to like correction, and entitled to like relief in case of evil treatment, and to like freedom dues

and other privileges as servants bound by indenture for four years are entitled. But in case the owner should abandon his claim to the service of such child, the overseers of the poor are required to bind him or her as an apprentice, for a time not exceeding the age of twenty-eight years. Thus, we see, the act of 1780 placed the immediate descendants of slaves upon the same ground with indented servants. Of those who are born of free parents, it is well known that a large part are bound by their parents or others, to serve for a limited time. Hence it is manifest that they are *freemen* by the very terms of the laws of 1682. As to those colored persons who have been brought up by their parents, and never bound out by indenture, if they hold property and pay taxes, or in the terms of the law, pay scot and lot to the government, the same laws declare them to be *freemen*. "At that time, certainly, the case of a manumitted slave, or of his freeborn progeny, was not contemplated as one to be provided for in the founder's scheme of policy." No, it was not, and in the liberal mind of Wm. Penn, no provision was necessary.

If we are to judge of this scheme of policy by his own declaration, both before he became a legislator and afterwards, we must conclude that he intended to allow to all the freemen of the province, who paid taxes to the government, a voice in the formation and administration of the laws. In his treatise entitled, "England's Present Interest Considered," which was published in 1675, about seven years before the laws in question were framed, he lays it down as a fundamental principle that the people are parties to the laws, and have a voice in them. And in his exposition of the principles of liberty, after he became a legislator, he expresses himself thus: "That is liberty where the laws govern and the people are parties to the law." That his scheme of policy did not limit his justice to persons of his own color, is manifest from his care to extend it to the Indians. The provision, that disputes which might arise, in relation to property, between the natives and the new settlers, should be adjusted by six of the former and the same number of the latter, is an evidence of his liberality towards that class of his fellow men. The measures which he promoted to improve the condition of the negroes in the province, both by word and religious instruction, and by legislative acts, sufficiently prove that he had no disposition to treat them as the outcasts of society. In his description of those who were to be accounted *freemen*, according to the sense in

which he used the word, there is no exception on account of color; therefore, we have no authority for supposing that any was intended. To suppose such an intention, and make that supposition the basis of a judicial decision, excluding the whole colored race from the rights which the letter, if not the intention, of these laws secure to them, is to pay little regard to the character of W. Penn, as well as to manifest small progress in liberality of sentiment, during the hundred and fifty years which have passed since those laws were agreed on.

"I have quoted the passage, however, to show that the word freeman was applied in a peculiar sense to the political compact of our ancestors, resting, like a corporation, on a charter from the crown; and exactly as it was applied to bodies politic at home." And in this definition of a freeman, according to that peculiar sense, a great part of the people of color, now resident in Pennsylvania, are obviously included. The provisions subsequently quoted by the learned judge from the act of union, the charter of privileges, the act of settlement, and the act of naturalization, relate to foreigners; and, therefore, have no application to persons born in the country. The reasoning of the judge, by which he labors to establish the doctrine that up to the moment in which the article of our Constitution relative to elections was penned, the word freeman was used in a specific sense, and implied, like the term citizen which supplanted it, one who had a voice in public affairs, brings him no nearer the conclusion which he is striving to attain. For there is nothing in his facts or principles to prove that negroes, paying taxes to the government, had not a voice in public affairs. Indeed, the laws which he has quoted, combined with the act of 1780, prove directly that the term freemen, in its specific sense, includes them. They are exactly of the character of persons which those laws declare to be freemen, capable of electing or being elected representatives. Not a word is any where found intimating that an exception is to be made on account of color, or the condition of the ancestors. It is well known that a considerable number of convicts were sent from England to some of the colonies. It is not probable that the founder of Pennsylvania intended that persons of that description should take part in the administration of public affairs; yet who would now think of excluding a native white man from the rights of citizenship, because his great grandfather was transported to America for some infamous crime? (To be continued.)

"REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION."

We continue our extracts from the "Journal of the Franckean Synod." The following Report on Education is replete with sound advice, learning, and piety.

The Education Board of the Franckean Synod, respectfully report:

That they have assisted in part one young man preparing for the ministry; that they feel fully convinced of the importance of education, and that its friends should unite their efforts in affording all necessary aid to indigent pious young men to acquire knowledge according to the demands of the ministry. As the wants of our beloved Zion are diversified, so men with different education may labor successfully, and be ornaments of the Christian ministry; and all who may apply, your board can constitutionally educate, or help in part. Indeed, we should not have a nice regard for the tools employed in doing the work, as for the work done. If the desirable object of the ministry can be gained by men differently qualified in literature, be assured the approbation of the Most High will not be lost, and the reprobation of fastidious men can be dispensed with. We should have two objects distinctly in view, whilst training men up for the gospel ministry—the wants of the church, and a high standard of classical and theological education. But the pressing claims of Zion should always have the preference. As the church permits, so raise the standard of education and the duration of study. The respectability of the ministry in the sight of God, does not depend so much upon classical and literary intelligence, as upon its usefulness and keeping pace with the loud and perishing calls of a dying world. Not always the most learned ministers are the wisest and most distinguished in winning souls to God. A man of vast learning without religion, is comparatively worthless in Zion, whilst a man with moderate information in literature, but with the Holy Ghost in his heart, and burning love to a holy God and perishing men, may do good; still, when high literary attainments and the sanctified influence of grace and deep-toned piety, combine in a man, qualifying him well for the ministry, he may accomplish an inconceivable amount of good in the world. Such a man is a Luther, a Francke, a Wesley, a Baxter, a Whitefield, an Edwards, and finally, like many bright stars in the firmament of Zion, at the present day. Classical

qualification should not be the essential support, the main pillar of the ministry, but thorough, divine, and experimental knowledge of the sacred Scriptures—the good, holy, and purifying spirit of the Lord should fill the ambassadors of God. A ministry taught of the Holy Ghost is more effectual in stemming infidelity, in raising up the Bible as our polar star, and in converting a world to God, than a ministry dead in religion and affluent in scientific knowledge. Notwithstanding, godliness is so essential and paramount to the success of the ministry, still literature is an excellent handmaid—a great and important help. It assists in unfolding the Scriptures. It disciplines the mind and opens a wide field of knowledge. The study of the languages and ancient history carries us back to the pristine ages of the world, teaching us the customs, manners, and habits of thinking of other people. The minds of all public speakers need cultivation, to enlarge the conceptions, enliven the imagination, to correct and render acute the judgment; finally, to have the mind so disciplined as to bring the powers of thought and deduction, under consecration and sound exercises. It is always necessary and advisable to have some liberally educated men to guard and direct the movements of the church.

Truly, the church needs intelligent, holy, enlightened, and zealous men in vast numbers. Men able to teach and defend the doctrines of the "everlasting gospel." Men humble, gentle, and persevering. Men who will urge the church up to holiness, speak fearlessly the whole counsel of God, and warn sinners night and day with tears, like the Apostle Paul. From various parts of the land, the "Macedonian cry" comes to our ears upon every passing breeze, "Come over and help us." Destitute churches are famishing—are perishing for lack of bread; sinners are wending their way down to hell, unwarned, unwept; and many, very many waste places have been as yet unrefreshed by the waters of the sanctuary. There is a great need of men to bear and unfold the Book of Life, and scatter its leaves for the healing of the people. Do you say that there are many pious men longing to enter the ministry; but deterred by indigence, or a lack of necessary qualifications? We reply promptly, let them step forward, and we will educate and help as many as we are able, if possessing the proper qualifications in piety and talent, and the rest may find a welcome home and a liberal heart in the American Education Society—that noble institution, which stands ready with open

arms to receive them into her bosom and train them up as Levites for the service of the Lord. Her sympathies and aid will be cordially extended. She is not only willing to display the munificence of the church in affording aid to pious men, but she even invites them beneath her sheltering wings. The bleeding church calls for them. Six hundred millions of perishing heathen raise an incessant cry for them. Now, let them come forward, with *true, glowing, deep-toned piety*, and the camp of Israel will move onward with a steady and unfaltering step. And the Lord, whose compassion fails not, will beautify his Zion, and cause us to become a holy nation. Then shall streams of salvation flow forth from every part of our land to fertilize and bless the heathen world. Yea, as the Prophet has said, "The righteousness thereof shall go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth," and "the Gentiles shall see our righteousness and kings our glory."

These remarks we make because we love our Zion and feel desirous to meliorate her condition. We do not dislike education—no, we love a liberal and thorough education; but we love our Zion more. The mind longing and thirsting for knowledge is pleasant, and cheerfully will we gratify it so long as conscience shall permit; but from the dying groans and broken sighs of a perishing world, we CANNOT turn away with indifference. Our reply to our bleeding church should be as Peter spake on a certain occasion, "What we have, we give unto thee: In the name of Jesus Christ," receive the messenger of truth and the bread of life. And like the lame man, we would see the church "walking, leaping, and praising God." O, for hearts to feel! for wisdom to act righteously, that the dews of heaven may come down upon our extended Zion, that pious men may be raised up for the gospel ministry, and that our church may be blessed with a host of REVIVAL MEN to roll on the car of salvation to the ends of the earth!

VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

Subjoined is a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the "Vigilance Committee," and their quarterly receipt of moneys. We attended a public meeting recently held in behalf of the objects of this Association, and we were glad to see a lively spirit manifested to promote their *doings*. We also looked into the room where the ladies are preparing for the fair, the proceeds of which are to be

given to facilitate the operations of the Committee. In the latter place, we were particularly struck and gratified at the "chaste demeanor, and taste refined." The display of "beauty and sentiment," heightened by the smiles of the many benevolent countenances, gave a lustre and attractiveness to the scene too powerful for us to attempt a description of.

A meeting of the Vigilance Committee was held at St. Paul's Lutheran Church, on the evening of October 30th, 1838. Mr. Jno. Coalter, President, Mr. — Johnson, Vice-President, and Messrs. J. Turner and C. Purnell, Secretaries.

Prayer having been offered, the secretary of the Vigilance Committee stated the object of the meeting, and read the Constitution of the Association. A collection was then taken up, and on motion, it was

Resolved, That a Committee of Five be appointed to procure a place and call a public meeting, where the claims of the Committee might be set forth and more efficient means adopted to sustain their efforts.

The Committee appointed conformable to the foregoing resolution, were, J. J. G. Bias, J. Gibbing, J. Cornish, J. C. White, and Samuel Van Brackle.

The meeting was appropriately addressed by several gentlemen, when, on motion, Adjourned.

JNO. COALTER, *President.*

J. TURNER, }
C. PURNELL, } *Secretaries.*

RECEIPTS.

The Vigilance Committee gratefully acknowledge the following sums received by them since their last report, ending August 1st, 1838.

By a Friend, for a particular case,	\$ 5 00
A collection from Woodbury, N.J., by Jno. Freeman,	5 00
A collection, August 5th,	5 00
From C. Bustil \$1, R. Gordon, sr., 50 cts.	1 50
A collection in Bethel Church,	9 25
By E. Needles, \$18; by J. Healy, \$2; from Jacob Coates, \$2 00; M. Bustil, 25 cts.; collection, 85 cts.,	23 10
By Perry Warren, \$2 08; from Mr. Jacobs, 50 cts.; Mr. B——, 25 cts.; J. Turner, 25 cts.; Mr. Becket, \$1; D. Bustil, 50 cts.,	4 58
From Female Auxiliary,	3 25
From Mrs. Newton, 75 cts.; Clayton Miller, 25 cts.,	1 00
From K. Armstrong, 25 cts.; Mr. B——, 25 cts.; Clayton Miller, 50 cts.; K. Armstrong, 25 cts.; J. P. Johnson, 50 cts.; collection in Presbyterian Church, 7th street, \$9 08,	10 83
	<hr/> 868 52

We are requested to publish the following correspondence :

Philadelphia, Dec. 3d, 1838.

Mr. Robert Purvis:

SIR,—The undersigned, appointed by the "Philadelphia Library Company," to select a suitable person to deliver before them their Annual Address, have selected you as the speaker for that occasion. Your compliance will oblige the Committee.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

JACOB C. WHITE,

JAMES NEEDHAM,

WM. DOUGLASS.

Philadelphia, Dec. 5th, 1838.

Messrs. J. C. White, James Needham, and William Douglass:

GENTLEMEN,—Your letter of the 5th inst., stating that "I was selected by you to deliver before the 'Philadelphia Library Company' their Annual Address," was duly received. In complying with your invitation, I have only to regret that some one more able than myself was not selected to discharge the duties of so important an occasion.

I have the honor, gentlemen, to be

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT PURVIS.

AMALGAMATION.

The two-faced, double-tongued revilers of abolitionists and colored men, are always ready to inflame the public mind with the horrors of amalgamation in the North; while they are equally ready to sympathise with it in the South. They profess to be innocent souls,—they interfere with nobody's rights. Their God is *ambition*—their religion, interest—and their morals of the most pliable nature. They have a set of principles for every latitude, and never trouble themselves about universal rights. They can hate slavery in the North, and love it in the South, all in the same breath; poor souls, how pliable, and yet how foolish! Why vent their wicked spleen against the social intercourse of abolitionists with the free colored people, while they suffer the Southern nabobs, the real amalgamators, to go unpunished. The truth is, they have always been so ignorant and dumb; that they cannot discover the real difference between slavery and free-

dom. They have so long looked upon the colored population as property, that they seem to imbibe the belief that the free and enslaved were alike subjected to the caprice, lust, and rapine of the white man. It is full time the charge of amalgamation was withdrawn! They will not be intimidated in their work of mercy by your false declamations. They could not amalgamate if they desired. There is a sufficient amount of prejudice retained in the breasts of the colored people to forbid it. Besides, the virtue and intelligence of colored females here forms an impregnable barrier, over which no man of dishonorable motives dare enter.

Abolitionists have never advocated this doctrine, but, on the contrary, have opposed it by their attempts to overthrow the accursed system of slavery that sustains it, so that due protection may be given to female virtue. It is a doctrine that belongs to none of the reforms of this age. For our own part, we deny that, strictly speaking, such a thing as amalgamation can take place with human beings, unless it arises from association with brutes.

The Bible informs us of but one creation, and that we all have descended from the "seed of Adam." And, until we are convinced that there have been two creations, we will continue to deny that there are different species and races in the human family. With regard to marriage, we are willing to be governed entirely by the Scriptures on that subject; and we believe with Paul, that "marriage is honorable in all," and that the parties should be bound by "mutual cords of affection," and that it is not our business to inquire from what country they come, or what complexion the Almighty chooses to clothe them with. The laws that govern the affections of mankind towards each other, we believe to be above human legislation.

ECONOMY.

As this subject is embraced in the cardinal principles of our society, we shall briefly notice the operation of economy on the interests of the human family. Economy may, by

many, be termed a *method*, rather than a principle. Its success and rewards depend much on the support to be derived from *education and temperance*. Economy collects into one grand reservoir all valuable fruits for the good of society. We do not believe that any substance was ever lost. Matter changes both its appearance and form, while the elementary principles of its nature remain undisturbed. Water is capable of existing under three distinct forms, viz.: solid, fluid and æriform. By the power of chemical analization, the constituent parts of all bodies may become separated; and although they may never again become re-united to the original, they are not wholly lost; they have only assumed a new form not adapted to our convenience, and are consequently *lost to us*.

But to acquire the means for the elements of economy to exert its power, education and temperance must lead, as they are capable of directing us to the acquisition of useful properties. If the old adage be true, "that economy is wealth," then time is man's most valuable gift—knowledge his greatest acquisition, and money his reward. Therefore, *economy* is the grand preservative of all these, and is a necessary operative to make them valuable and useful. All these may be summed up under the classification of wealth, from which we may enumerate all the advantages of civilized life.

An old age brings a wealth of days; an extensive education brings intellectual wealth; while a large amount of money makes pecuniary wealth; and all these should be so applied to the various purposes of life, so that their valuable benefits will not be lost to individuals and to society. Hence the necessity for that great operative, economy.

It is the business of *education and temperance* to teach us the just value of such commodities as are adapted to our use.

It is by these *agents* that we discover the difference between our *natural* and *superficial* wants. It is to the first of these that economy accommodates itself to, while it is arrayed against the latter. The great object of economy is to save what would be wholly lost to

the world. For instance, as soon as the *superfluous* wants of any people arise to the same height of their *natural wants*, then their difficulty to obtain the means of subsistence is just what they would be if there were twice the amount of population.

It is those that frame and fashion the customs of any people that lay the foundation of their happiness or misery. Those that invent systems for contracting our superficial wants and unnecessary expenditures, are the greatest producers of national and individual wealth. No people on earth can ever be free while luxury and fashion are such tyrannical gods, that they not only claim their adoration, but elicit from them their vital substance.

The God of nature has so regulated our wants, that in the production of the soil, and the prosecution of the arts and mechanical skill, a sufficient amount to gratify our natural demands may always be obtained. There are difficulties to be met with in the acquisition of knowledge and wealth, that calls into exertion our noblest faculties. This often arises from an increase of population, and that just spirit of competition that promotes enterprise. This is as it should be, because it promotes virtuous emulation. But all the unnecessary difficulties we have to contend with are of human origin, and are capable of being removed by human means.

It therefore becomes every people to survey their own condition, and discover what difficulties obstruct their elevation. Besides our illiterate condition, and the advantage a share in the government affords to the most humble and "lowly white man," we have to contend with an unholy prejudice against complexion, that militates much against our interests.

This evil, in connexion with others that are national, effect each class without distinction or complexion, viz.: ignorance, intemperance, luxury and slavery, and no people can relieve themselves from their influence without a united effort to perform some great moral good. We believe that an analization of this prejudice comes directly under our notice, that we may form some provision against its

action. If the question should be asked what is this prejudice? we answer, that it is a corrupt public sentiment directing its force on the free colored population! It stands on guard like an honest sentinel, sounding the alarm at our advancement, lest we should enter the profitable avenues of civilized life. It tends more to retard our onward progress than would a tripple amount of population, all placed under equitable laws, and equal opportunities of obtaining the necessities of life. We must, therefore, practice a system of economy, in order that we may make some provision against this inequality of power, arising from the combined influence of national power to prohibit our prosperity. For while this prejudice exists in its present form, we might as well attempt to "scale the throne of Heaven," as expect to keep pace with the white man in all the progressive improvement that illustrates national character, and constitutes human greatness, while we imitate their vices, fashions, customs and habits.

But should we establish customs of our own, correspondent to our own condition, we shall be able to succeed against all the combined powers of opposition. Although prejudice has been described as a monster of such "hideous mien," that the ministers of the everlasting gospel, and a majority of the American church, sanction the doctrine that neither the battlements of truth, the appeals of humanity, or the power of religion, can remove it from its deep-rooted foundation, we still believe it to be vincible.

It is of human origin; and although backed by a nation's strength, can no more withstand the omnipotent power of Him who holds the destiny of nations within his grasp, than puny and rebellious man can arrest the judgments of Heaven. We ask them no longer to hold out to us the menacing language that prejudice is eternal, and that our situation here is unchangeable. When a man asserts that human reason is a sufficient guide to lead all men to happiness, he is scouted as an *infidel*; yet his accusers will, in the next breath, assert that prejudice, which is no other than human passion, and is so far inferior to

reason, stands superior to religion itself. Let them beware lest the revilers and persecutors of religion use their own weapons to complete their overthrow.

American prejudice has erected a wall for the protection of the white man's interest, over which we are forbidden to enter. We are, therefore, deterred from receiving those blessings which Providence intended for all. All we ask of its supporters is, to remove this wall, take down this complexion tariff, and let us have a fair opportunity of rivalling you in the arts, sciences, and civilization, and we will give you as a *bonus* our support to government. To those that still cry out for this abominable *tariff*—the protective system—we say to them, most respectfully, you ought now to remain satisfied; for two centuries you have been sailing under its influence, and if you cannot now risk your future interests against the competition of "African" intellect, **BOLDLY announce your inferiority.** We desire to hear no more of your prating about superiority. You have already obscured the sun of intellectual light from our vision; immured us in darkness and debasement; chained us to the car of degradation and ignorance, and yet you contemptuously ask, why are we not elevated? You might as well expect the laws of nature to annihilate, or that we were more than human prodigies!

In our next we shall continue this subject, and exhibit the power of a correct system of economy to counteract this evil.

The following is an address from the Committee appointed at the last Annual Meeting of the American Moral Reform Society, to the "freed men" in the British West India Islands, who, by legislative enactment, were enfranchised on the first day of August, 1838.

For the National Reformer.

ADDRESS.

Brethren and Friends,—At the Annual Meeting of the American Moral Reform Society, held in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of August last, we were appointed a Committee to address you. The reasons we would assign as the motives for addressing you at this time, is the very conspicuous

situation you now hold with regard to the great subject of human liberty, and the future interests of your brethren in other nations.

In the commencement of our duty, we state explicitly that it is not our intention to aid in invigorating your hatred against that execrable system of commerce, the "African Slave Trade," by which you, and our ancestors, were torn from all their endearing ties, and native home, to suffer in strange lands, (in themselves and their posterity,) three centuries of degrading and brutalizing oppression; with all the tortures, pains, and penalties, incident to that soul-killing, impolitic, inhuman, and unjust system of domestic slavery, that has spread its blighting influence over many of the most distinguished nations of the earth. It is sufficient for us to know that you, too, have been subjects of ignoble and degrading servitude; and that you now constitute the integral part of a nation that has set its legislative seal of condemnation on both, to be assured that domestic slavery and the slave-trade receives your hearty condemnation.

It is not, however, our intention to dilate on the past; our immediate business is with the future. Nor would we draw a parallel between the virtues of the respective nations to which we belong. Our object is to solicit from you the adoption and execution of such means and measures, as will enable our country, like yours, to wipe from her statute books the last remnant of oppression and slavery.

We, therefore, address you as brethren of a common nature, and a common origin,—as brethren allied to us by "parentage, by suffering, and by wrong," to exert whatever means the unerring dictates of infinite wisdom and Christian principles may direct, for the overthrow of American slavery, and the disenthralment of your brethren (in this country) from the servile chains of debasing servitude. Do not suppose, for a moment, that your exertions will prove fruitless, and that it is not in your power to do much towards elevating your brethren. Your help will be of the right kind; it is greatly needed. The friends of liberty are watching your steps with anxious solicitude, and the oppressor with not a less vigilant eye. Therefore, let not the cause of suffering humanity find you sleeping at your post.

Your happy deliverance was hailed by the humane among all nations, as the most illustrious event of the nineteenth century. It has been trumpeted forth by the press of every country; and even in this country, where slavery has nearly eclipsed the sun of

liberty, millions of souls rejoiced at the glorious news, and millions more are only waiting to observe whether liberty will prove a blessing to you, before they shout hosannas to the victory our friends have achieved.

If our enemies ask, what abolitionists have done? our reply is, they have conquered that part of the slave territory on which you dwell, and that you are both free and happy. All we ask of you is, that you will endeavor, by moral and upright deportment, to follow the noble example of our brethren in Antigua and Bermuda, and thus defeat the calumnies of our enemies. We know it will be your interest, and we trust it will be your pleasure, to be foremost in every good work, for your own sakes, and the sake of your brethren that are pining in bondage. Let neither sectional interests, nor party trammels draw you from the path of duty. Your liberty was achieved by the spirit of perseverance, and a rigid adherence to the cause of truth and righteousness. It cannot be preserved inviolate by any other spirit or principle than those that produced the present happy termination. Raise neither party lines nor complexional banners to distinguish yourselves from the rest of your countrymen. Let your interests be national, and your principles universal. Drown in the cup of oblivion all remembrance of the past, for the hopes of the future. Show forth to the world that the oppressor and the oppressed—the white man and the colored—the rich and the poor—the bond and the free, when placed on the platform of our common nature and equal justice, can all, when equally protected in their civil and religious rights, live together as brethren, in harmony, peace, and unity, and you will have raised to the ground the most powerful barrier against *universal emancipation*.

Despots and cowards are always jealous of their security; while they hold the slave as a *chattel*, they reason concerning his conduct as if he were a *man*. Their conscious guilt magnifies their fears, that as soon as he is loosed he will take retribution in his own hands. We hope you will learn them an important lesson that all the world should know, that as soon as they have repented, we are prepared to forgive, and that "vengeance belongeth unto God," who will repay it in due season, with his own good will and pleasure.

The time was, but a few months ago, when your and our situations were analogous; but the illustrious philanthropy of Britain has won for you the boon of liberty. Long may you continue to enjoy it.

The same spirit is awake in our country,

that overthrew the slave trade and domestic slavery in Britain, and will by the blessing of Providence achieve a speedy triumph. There are now hundreds of thousands of devoted laborers in the field, and the same God will bestow on their exertions an equal reward. May he give you the understanding, spirit, and energy to prosecute the great and important duties that lie before you—by expanding your minds, and cultivating those hidden faculties which, but for the demoniac spirit of slavery, would now have been enriching the world with the power of your genius and the fruit of your industry;—and us an abiding faith, an untiring perseverance, a holy and determined resolution, to abide the issue of the mortal contest now waging between “liberty and slavery” on the one hand, and complexional distinctions, and “equal rights” on the other, until the triumph of truth, justice, and righteousness shall be great, glorious, and complete,—when the very names of *slavery* and *prejudice* shall be made to perish on the page of national infamy, and disappear from the language of the just—when man shall be proclaimed free and unfettered from the galling yoke, in every nation and clime under heaven, by the “irresistible power of the genius of universal emancipation.”

WM. WHIPPER,
ROBT. PURVIS,
ANDREW HARRIS, } *Committee.*

In the plenitude of our heart, we thank our brethren of Boston, for the following energetic and masterly resolutions. We respond amen to every word therein contained. We hope, for the future, that that prodigious humbug and man-hater, Elliott Cresson, will cease his whining—be “true to his cloth”—repent of his sins—and let us alone.

GREAT MEETING OF THE COLORED CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

Pursuant to public notice, given through the *Liberator*, Dec. 7th, a large assemblage of the colored citizens of Boston convened in the Infant School Room, on Wednesday evening, 12th inst., to express their views relative to the late colonization movements in this city and vicinity.

The house was called to order by Mr. J. T. Hilton, who explained, in a brief manner the object and purposes of the call. On motion, Mr. John E. Scarlett was called to the chair, and Mr. J. T. Hilton appointed Secretary.

Mr. Hilton offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God to give us our birth in a professedly republican and Christian land, having extraordinary means and facilities to teach the ignorant, elevate the degraded, and succor the oppressed;—

And whereas, the LOVE OF COUNTRY is inherent

in the human breast, and is cherished by us with an ardor which no unkindness, no outrage, no persecution, can extinguish;—

And whereas, our great and gracious Creator has seen fit, in his infinite wisdom, to diversify the human race in size, shape and complexion, (though he has ‘made them of ONE BLOOD,’) and has therefore given us a skin not colored like that of a majority of our countrymen;—

And whereas, a scheme has been devised and is upheld by those who despise us, who deny our natural equality and oneness with themselves, who are brutal and licentious tyrants, to banish us from our native land to a continent which is involved in heathenish darkness;—

And whereas, efforts are now making in various parts of the country, and particularly in this section, to increase the funds and augment the power of that cruel and irrational scheme;—Therefore,

Resolved, That we owe it to our self-respect, to our enslaved brethren at the South, to bleeding Africa, to the cause of justice and humanity universally, once more, in our united capacity, and in the most solemn manner, to enter our protest against the American Colonization Society, as purely selfish in its origin, basely deceptive in its pretences, utterly corrupt in its principles, and truly diabolical in its designs.

Resolved, That just in proportion as we fear, deprecate, and abhor that Society, as our bitterest foe and the giant protector of the slave-system, is our regard for the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries, which make no compromise with slavery, denounce that prejudice which seeks our banishment to Africa, and claim for us equal rights and privileges with others on this our native soil.

Resolved, That we recognise in the Rev. R. R. Gurley, General Agent and Secretary of the American Colonization Society, the most guilty and prominent of all our persecutors—the man who, as editor of the *African Repository*, and as the writer of the annual reports of the Society, is responsible for all the apologies in behalf of slavery, all the slanders heaped upon us as free colored citizens, all the atrocious sentiments which justify our proscription while we remain in this country, which have disfigured the pages of those periodicals.

Resolved, That we are constrained to regard him as double-tongued, two-faced, callous-hearted; hostile to our continuance in the land of our nativity; the friend and coadjutor of those who trade in slaves and souls of men; a northern man with southern principles; and a wolf in sheep’s clothing.

Resolved, That in Elliott Cresson, who is now in this region attempting to deceive the people, we discern one who is unsurpassed in his contempt of the colored race, in his malignity toward our abolition friends, in his deceitfulness and cunning—one who has ‘stolen the livery of’ the court of heaven to serve the devil in—one who wears a *Quaker garb*, in order that he may the more successfully dupe the people into the support of a scheme, which, like the human heart as described by our Saviour, is ‘deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.’

Resolved, That the lawless man, who, as foreman of the Grand Jury of Philadelphia, recently

in his Presentment, reprobated the free discussion of the subject of slavery, libelled the characters of our truest friends, justified in effect riot and arson, and presented the rebuilding of Pennsylvania Hall (sacred to 'Virtue, Liberty, and Independence') as a NUISANCE, instead of being welcomed into New England pulpits as a friend of Africa, rather deserves to be put in close confinement as the enemy of mankind.

Resolved, That Elliott Cresson is that man.

Resolved, That for these men to pretend that they desire to suppress the foreign slave-trade, while they are in league with our domestic slave-traders; that they are opposed to slavery, while they court the society and companionship of slaveholders; that they deplore the condition of the natives of Africa, whom they have not seen, while they calumniate and persecute the free colored citizens of the United States, whom they have seen, *but dare not confront, face to face*; that they are the friends of religion, while they maintain that it is not in the power of religion to subdue American prejudice; all this is amazing effrontery, and a gross insult to the Deity, and to the human understanding.

Resolved, That those clergymen, who, notwithstanding all the light that has been shed upon the subject, now countenance the false pretensions of the Colonization Society, are without excuse, and merit the condemnation of every friend of liberty.

Resolved, That the Rev. Messrs. Gannett and Malcom in this city, in advocating the claims of this Society at a recent meeting in the Marlboro' Church (as well as in their former efforts to sustain that cruel association,) have shown themselves to be the friends of slaveholders, not of the slaves, and inimical to the best interests of the American colored population, whether bond or free.

Resolved, That the plan of Judge Wilkinson, a wealthy slaveholder of Florida, to procure a ship to be owned and navigated by colored men, for the exceedingly mean purpose of transporting us all to Africa, is truly 'a step from the sublime to the ridiculous,' and manifestly preposterous.

Resolved, That we are not to be duped by any plan or device put forth by colonizationists for our expatriation; but shall continue to oppose, as we have hitherto opposed, with all our might, soul, and strength, every such project.

Resolved, That our regard for the welfare of Africa, as well as for our own happiness, compels us to denounce and assail the scheme of African colonization.

Resolved, That we will never consent to be exiled to the African coast, but are determined to remain in the land in which we were born, and from which nothing shall be able to seduce or separate us.

These resolves were supported by the mover, and ably sustained by Messrs. Thomas Cole, Daniel Hanson, S. R. Alexander, John Levi, D. D. Rue, William Lewis, B. and H. Weeden.

Voted that the doings of this meeting be published in the Liberator, signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

Voted, That the political and religious journals in this city, and the various anti-slavery papers in

the United States, be requested to give these proceedings an insertion.

On motion, voted to adjourn, *sine die*.

JOHN E. SCARLETT, *Chairman*.

J. T. HILTON, *Secretary*.

For the National Reformer.

DIED—On the morning of the 5th inst., after a protracted illness, WM. WATKINS, Sr., being in the 85th year of his age. During a considerable portion of his affliction his sufferings were intensely severe; but he bore them unrepiningly, assuring those around him that he wished them no less, as they were not worthy to be compared with the glory that should be revealed. The lamented subject of this obituary notice, though he was destined to move in an humble sphere, "was a burning and a shining light." His sterling virtues, maugre his unobtrusive and retiring demeanor, attracted the gaze of a numerous acquaintance, and extorted from them the exclamation: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright." His uniform sweetness of temper, and corresponding amenity of manners, were eminently calculated to win,—what they did not fail to obtain for him,—the good will of all who knew him. The respect that was paid him, and the kind attentions that were lavished upon him by many in the higher walks of life, while they were creditable to their liberality of sentiment, abundantly demonstrate that an unsullied reputation, and a life of undeviating rectitude, in whomsoever found cannot fail to procure the esteem of all who appreciate what is excellent in morals and uncompromising in principle. Let the members of that branch of the M. E. Church of which he has been for fifty years an exemplary member—let the colored population of whom he was a distinguished ornament, tread in his footsteps, and they will yet realize as a people, that, "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

W.

PREJUDICE.

The following forcible and beautiful delineation of prejudice is ascribed by Hugh Worthington, a late English divine, to the celebrated Dr. Price.

"Prejudice may be compared to a misty morning in October, a man goes forth to an eminence, and he sees at the summit of a neighboring hill a figure apparently of gigantic stature, for such the imperfect medium, through which he is viewed, would make him appear: he goes forward a few steps, and the figure advances towards him; the size lessens as they approach; they draw still nearer, and the extraordinary appearance is gradually but sensibly diminished, and at last they meet, and perhaps the person whom he had taken for a monster, proves to be his own brother."

The best throw upon the dice is to throw them away.

RELIGION.

Religion (says Sir H. Davy) has always the same beneficial influence on the mind. In youth, in health and prosperity, it awakens feelings of gratitude and sublime love, and purifies at the same time that it exalts; but it is in misfortune, in sickness, in age, that its effects are most truly and beneficially felt, when submission in faith, and humble trust in the divine will, from duties become pleasures—undecaying sources of consolation; then it creates powers which were believed to be extinct, and gives a freshness to the mind which was supposed to have passed away for ever.

POETRY.

THINK OF OUR COUNTRY'S GLORY!

BY E. M. CHANDLER.

Think of our country's glory,
All dim'd with Afric's tears;
Her broad flag stain'd and gory,
With the hoarded guilt of years!

Think of the frantic mother,
Lamenting for her child,
Till falling lashes smother
Her cries of anguish wild!

Think of the prayers ascending,
Yet shrieked, alas! in vain;
When heart from heart is rending,
Ne'er to be joined again.

Shall we behold, unheeding,
Life's holiest feelings crush'd?
When woman's heart is bleeding,
Shall woman's voice be hush'd?

Oh, no! by every blessing
That Heaven to thee may lend—
Remember their oppression,
Forget not, sister, friend.



For the National Reformer.

The following lines were suggested on seeing the painting of "Christ stilling the Storm," in the scrap-book of Miss Elizabeth H. Henly.

CHRIST STILLING THE STORM.

'Twas eve,
And darkness threw her sable veil over
Nature's face. It was a veil of clouds! Nor
Moon, nor star, was seen. A stillness, as the
Slumber of the tomb prevail'd awhile; then,
Like the dread echoes of the Archangel's
Trump, the roaring thunders rent the frowning
Sky! And flaming lightnings flew like fiery
Serpents through the air! The sea of Tiberias
Heav'd with dire emotions, as if the fear
Of Nature's slumb'ring Prince had fill'd her heart

With pangs severe! The waves in tumult leap'd
Toward heaven!
And dash'd, and foam'd, and roar'd! The wind tempestuous
Hurl'd the cracking ship in fury o'er the
Surface of the yawning deep. Death sat, terrific,
On the foaming billows! And did the storm
Awake her thousand tongues, and howl as though
"The crush of worlds" had come! Dismay'd, the Twelve
Ran to their sleeping Lord and cried, "Oh,
Save, or we perish!"
Christ rose, and to the warring elements
Said, "Peace, be still." Thunder and Lightning, Wind
And Sea, obedient heard the Omnipotent voice,
Recoil'd, and hush'd like silent infants in
A mother's arms! What could they more?
'Twas Nature's God who spake!

ORIGEN.

NOTICE.

The FAIR, to promote the objects of the "Vigilance Association," will be opened on Monday, 24th December, at 3 o'clock, P. M. at the Rev. Peter Gardiner's Meeting House, Locust street, nearly opposite to the Musical Fund Hall. Seasonable and useful articles, as well as toys for children, in all their variety, will be offered, at moderate prices.

In behalf of the Managers.

Mrs. McCrummill,
Mrs. Bias,
Mrs. Meade.

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.
New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.
New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.
Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.
" Columbia—Stephen Smith.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NATIONAL REFORMER,

Published in Philadelphia by the Board of Managers of the American Moral Reform Society. WM. WHIPPER, Editor.

Our object in establishing the *National Reformer*, is to disseminate the principles and measures of the *American Moral Reform Society*. For the want of an organ, devoted exclusively to the support of the doctrines we maintain, our objects have been grossly misunderstood. We do not lay claim to the establishment of any new principles, but only advocate the practical fulfilment and universal application of those that are already acknowledged by the friends of equal rights and impartial justice. We do not enter the arena against any periodical, whose principles of moral right are based on republican equality. We design to occupy a sphere in the moral reformation of this age and country, that has but partially claimed the attention of those that have preceded us. So far as our limits will permit, we shall endeavor to give a vigorous support to the cause of human rights.

The size of the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal octavo, and published monthly, at \$1 00 a year, in advance—six copies for \$5 00.

All communications, &c., relating to the editorial department should be addressed, *post paid*, to ROBERT PURVIS, No. 11 Jefferson Row. Those that relate to subscriptions to this paper, must be directed to JAMES McCRUMMILL, 266 North Third Street.

JOHN P. ROBERTS has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the *Reformer*.

LYDIA WHITE'S
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AND
DRY GOODS STORE.

No. 219 NORTH SECOND STREET, PHILA.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society---W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 4.

PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER, 1838.

VOL. I.

RETROSPECTION.

The close of the year 1838, like those that have preceded it, adds another link to the chain of time. The events that have transpired during this brief period of our nation's history, will furnish a fruitful theme for the pencil of the painter—the eloquence of the orator—the pen of the historian, and the philosophy of the "sage." During the past year the spirit of revolution has been rampant with vigor—the great principles that illumined the pathway of Justice in past ages, seem to have congregated afresh to give battle to the combined forces of despotism—while the latter have marshalled their insurgent forces for the "mortal combat."

In the great contest for power and dominion, the religious as well as the moral and civil powers of this nation have been involved. The church that was supposed to be as firm as a rock of *adamant*, has by one convulsive stroke been rent in twain. Ecclesiastical bodies that have associated for the promotion of evangelical piety, and the adjustment of vital questions for the present and future happiness of man, have been the theatres of polemical sarcasm, confusion, and disorder.

The spirit of intolerance has become the nursling of the church. It throws its sanction over the altar—communes in the sanctuary—associates with the multitude, and is the companion of the fireside. Yet amidst the fierce wrath of these contending elements, the spirit of true Christianity, like the three "Hebrew children," has remained unhurt. It is like the burning crater that never sleeps, but goes right onward, consuming the bramble and stubble that sometimes hide its omnipotent power from *infidel* gaze, until its broad and illustrious blaze shall illumine the dark "caverns of the earth."

In *morals*, the light of nature has been ob-

scured by the doctrines of the "wise and prudent." The stern demands of *duty* on the subject of human rights, have been commanded to yield to the "will of the brotherhood." The *prejudice* that makes man "hate his brother without a cause," has been represented as being ingrafted on the human mind by *Deity*.

In the *civil* government, revolutions have been more rapid and extraordinary. The Constitution of the U. States that was framed by our republican *Fathers*, for the purpose of securing liberty to themselves, and transmitting the same inestimable blessing to posterity, totters at *freedom's* call. The right of petition, and the privilege of being heard on the subject of American slavery, is in the keeping of *despots*. It may be truly said that while we profess to be republicans, we are destitute of the form, principles and practice. We have the shadow without the substance. As a nation our professions and practices are in juxtaposition. We profess to be civilized while we practise the barbarian—we cultivate a wholesome science, and practice a false philosophy—we pay our adorations to the goddess of liberty, while we worship at the shrine of slavery.

But now we will reverse the picture—the light has broke forth—the darkness is receding—a host has sprung up to the rescue—the deathly silence is supplanted by the nation's roaring thunder. Christians, too, are awakening and clothing themselves with the panoply of *omnipotence*—moral power is surveying the dominion of its *author*—the wounds of sin are heard in the howlings of the despot—the voice of God, more eloquent than *thunder*, more vivid than lightning, is calling thousands of thousands, to the noble work of implanting in the national mind just ideas of his power, goodness, and love,—and the duty man owes to his fellow-man.

The giant sins of this age, war, intemperance, prejudice, and slavery, will be banished from our country. An important field is already strewed with laborers, that for Christian zeal, and unflinching fortitude, have never been excelled since the "apostolic age."

The press, too, has begun to perform its sacred office. The "Genius of Universal Emancipation," the first in the field, is now subduing the "spirit of the savage" in our western forests, guided by that exalted patriot and friend of the slave—LUNDY. The "Liberator" has risen in the east, and like the sun in our firmament, has spread its refulgent rays over creation; grasping, conquering, and subduing, every opposing element, by the gigantic efforts of intellectual power, displayed by our American Luther—GARRISON.

The "Emancipator" is making an incision in the southern conscience, while it is combining and directing the energies of the friends of freedom, by the untiring labors of a LEAVITT—the "Philanthropist" is shaking the western prairies by the learning, zeal, and devotion of a GAMALIEL—the "Friend of Man" is undermining the philosophy on which the "peculiar institution" is based, by the logical powers of a GOODELL—the "Pennsylvania Freeman" has awakened the latent ire of the "old Dominion" by the inspired effusions of the American poet, WHITTIER—the "Herald of Freedom," that contained the disembodied spirit of the immortal Kimball, is ushering forth its volcanic fires from the pen of the inimitable ROGERS. And the active zeal and holy boldness with which many other whole and half pledged periodicals advocate the cause of the slave and the principles of universal liberty, give us the proud assurance that the American press is awake, and that its earthquake voice will arouse the national mind from the "sleep of death," until its DEAD CORPSE SHALL STAND ERECT. The "Colored American," after passing through a severe and fiery ordeal, has, by the active zeal and vigilance of its worthy proprietors, and skilful editor, S. E. Cornish, survived the storm, and completed its two years' pilgrim-

age, and is prepared to enter the contest afresh with a broader front, and heavier artillery. The "Mirror of Liberty" is a beacon light, that will illumine the pathway of the slave from the land of shackles to the shores of freedom. And last and least our own little bark is thrown upon the waves to sink or swim. We are but infants in skill, and untaught in mathematical and nautical science, and undisciplined in "military tactics," yet we have "enlisted for during the war," and, brethren, if you will but furnish the steam power we promise to bear the ship's company—we are willing to take our station in the line where the "shot flies the thickest and the fire the hottest." We shall use the heaviest artillery at our command; and shall endeavor to direct our "fire" so that we may be enabled to penetrate the strong holds of the enemy. As our anticipation of reward is centered in the prospect of a successful victory, we trust our banners may remain unfurled until slavery and prejudice, man's worst enemies, are extirpated from the face of American soil.

Nor is the press alone in this work of mercy. The pulpit, too, is beginning to vindicate the cause of insulted humanity—and re-embellish the honor of her Christian name. The powerful appeals of her Welds, her Greens, Wrights, Mays, Storrs, Beechers, Scotts, and Blanchards, are elevating the standard of the church in the sacred cause of human freedom. Every department of science is contributing to the extinction of slavery, while the overwhelming eloquence of more than Grecian, or Roman conquerors—the Smiths, the Stantons, the Birneys, Tappans, Jays, Stewarts, and Burleighs are sounding its death-knell; and the monthly concert prayer meetings of "civilized nations," are sending up solid columns of petitions to the court of Heaven, amidst the "assemblage of saints made perfect," where their right will not be denied, NOR THEIR PRAYER REJECTED. In our national Legislature, notwithstanding the base threats of disunion and assassination from the Prestons, the Wises, the Rhett's, the Pattons, and Thomsons, our Adams and Slades, and a

host of other noble spirits that have not bowed the "knee to Baal," but are inheriting from their ancient sires the free and unfettered spirit of the pilgrim fathers, are constantly ready to vindicate the *right of petition*—the freedom of speech and the liberty of man. Fear not, brethren, our cause is right onward. It is committed to the throne of Heaven, the Justice of earth, and our own humble exertions; if we labor, and are faithful, our triumph is as certain as that the God of nations controls the destinies of the universe.

ECONOMY.

In our last we commenced to exhibit the operation of prejudice against our interests, arising from the evil dispositions of the white man. In the present number we design to show that this prejudice is nourished by our own action. If we were constantly observed, by those who regard us as a distinct people, husbanding our time and means for practical and useful purposes, our enemies would have to seek elsewhere for subjects on which they might engulf their personal arrows of malice and venom. If we were to make an *economical* use of our time in improving our minds, it would be a happy means of dispelling *prejudice*, for it vanishes before the collision of intellect like the morning cloud before the rising sun. Haughty and tyrannical dispositions may affect to spurn the society of those that are despised, while they covet their attainments, but the honest and virtuous will ever venerate those qualities in others they are anxious to possess themselves. If we would rear up a breastwork against the fatal influence of this unholy prejudice against complexion, we must first become educated. We must explore the fields of science, and drink deep at the fountains of true philosophy. This we can never attain by revelling in luxury, and worshipping the goddess of fashion and folly. Education will implant in us a just estimate of our own immortal worth; and all the scorn and frowns of the world cannot remove it. One of the very fatal effects of the white man's prejudice against us has been to implant the false idea, that we were his *inferiors* in

the scale of human existence, and that we should receive his dictation with a tacit submission—while on the other hand there have been a few that have rejected the dominant principle with disdain, and were at all times ready to revenge an insult by retaliation. We believe both to be in error. A virtuous and lofty mind should never seek contact with a low-bred, vulgar, and vicious enemy, and such we consider all to be that will insult an innocent being merely because his "skin is not colored like his own." There are many of us that can pass by an insult from one that is classed as a vagabond, while they will become much irritated at the same conduct from those that are honored by the world with some dignified station in society. This rule of reasoning we consider erroneous.

To be consistent, we must be impartial in our decisions, and just in our condemnations. The transgressor is the same wicked and envious being whether he be clothed in the robe of state, or the habiliments of the beggar; they are fit subjects for our pity and commiseration; and if we possess Christian charity, we ought rather to forgive them for their wickedness and folly, than retaliate with a spirit of contempt. The department of prejudice that we are noticing at present, is that which appears in the form of scorn, and derision, and we can never escape its pestilential effluvia, unless we are actuated by a forgiving spirit. It belongs to that class of crimes that the spirit of retaliation nourishes.

It is not unfrequently that our *false* notions of honor and rank may lead us to aspire to the society of those that do not desire our association, and in return we are brought to feel the force of blighting scorn, ridicule, and contempt. Prejudice against complexion is a source of inbred corruption to the heart in which it is seated, and is used by wicked men as a means to punish us for their implacable "hatred to colored skin." The more we acknowledge its force and power, the more it will affect us—and just so long as it performs the purpose for which it was directed, just so long will it be used. We sanction its eternization by proclaiming its effect.

Let it be fully shown that "scorn, ridicule, and contempt" can no more injure us than an impure atmosphere can "contaminate the skies," and it will take its exit—its death knell will be tolled—its funeral requiem sung, and its fragments blown to the winds. Many of the difficulties we encounter from the force of prejudice, arises from what we will term a *false estimate*. The first impulses that lead us to those considerations, arises from a belief that the society of those we aspire to are our superiors, without examining their just claims to such a standard. Whenever we fully recognise our own human nature, and the divinity of our origin, we shall never feel honored by the society of any individuals or people on earth, unless they are our superiors in knowledge and virtue.

Such people will never insult us; and those that do, ought always to be *termed our inferiors*. It is one of our most magnified errors, to award *merit* and greatness to persons merely because they have "*white skins*." We can never be true friends to ourselves, or place a just estimate on our own exertions, until we abolish this remnant of "Babylonish superstition."

It has been asserted by many, that in this country a *white* complexion is a badge of merit; when this becomes truly so, when estimated by Gospel rules, we shall have no more persecutions to suffer from that class of the human family. But until then, if by a "royal decree" all the Bibles in the land were *burned*, American Christians would find in the physiognomy of the "colored population" the impress of divinity, and in their *creed* his rights and privileges; and so long as we remain amongst them a separate and degraded people, the complexion of each individual will guide them to their duty as *men, Americans, and Christians*. We have thus enumerated some of the attendant evils of prejudice, a portion of which we may relieve ourselves from by propriety of conduct, and by the pursuit of knowledge, the acquisition of means, the promotion of *temperance* and *economy*.

There is another department of prejudice

that is arrayed against our *interest*,—that shuts us out from profitable employment, the rights and privileges of citizenship, and is above our control. This, too, must fall by the force of moral power, and certain intelligence. It has already received a fatal stab from the friends of justice and freedom. It may long survive the wound, but every effort, and struggle it makes, will be but the *throes* of death.

Therefore, let us no longer fear its influence, but boldly stand prepared to meet it at the threshold. Our friends, the abolitionists, share with us the odium, or contempt of a perverse public sentiment. If their principles will not allow them to swerve from their position, let us never abandon a single inch of ground with respect to our rights on account of our complexion. In the view of our enemies, the *men* that advocate our cause have become as completely "negroized" as if they had been born on the coast of Guinea. Let us therefore labor with them, not merely for a selfish triumph, for the promotion of our peculiar interests—but for the establishment of that undying principle, that "*all men are created equal*," and that God "*HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN, FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH.*"

For the National Reformer.

TO THE MEMBERS OF WISDOM'S INSTITUTE, AT TROY.

EPISTLE I.

Dear Sisters:—I now commence the series of letters which I promised to write you, in relation to the design and studies of your Institute.

The design of your Institute is the acquisition of *useful knowledge*. This is good; *because your intellectual structure demands it*. All the powers of your minds, which constitute your intellectual structure, such as perception, reflection, attention, memory, &c., were created for the express purpose of acquiring useful knowledge. If, therefore, you neglect the acquisition of useful knowledge, you will leave these powers in a state of indolence, which will result in mental debility and ignorance. But if you will spend a portion of every day in acquiring useful knowledge, you will give to these powers their natural and needful exercise, the result of which will

be mental vigor and intelligence. Therefore, the acquisition of useful knowledge is good.

It is also good, *because it is essential to your happiness.* The very act of acquiring useful knowledge is a source of happiness;—the acquisition of useful knowledge is happiness. I speak of course in a restricted sense. But to illustrate:—The possession of property almost always affords a species of happiness to man; and this happiness is in exact proportion with the value of the property possessed. Now the acquisition of useful knowledge is property possessed; and what kind of property can afford such real and permanent happiness, (a peaceful conscience excepted,) as useful knowledge? But when this knowledge becomes sanctified and devoted to the glory of God, the happiness which it affords is increased in a tenfold degree. The possessor of it is indeed happy in it, because he receives the approbation of his conscience—the approbation of every wise and good man—the approbation of his God!

It is also good, *because it is essential to your usefulness.* Can the blind lead the blind? Will not both fall into the ditch? Can the ignorant instruct the ignorant? Will not both fall into error? Now, who are so blind as your benighted people? Who more ignorant than they? And can you enlighten their mental vision unless your own intellectual eyes be open? Can you instruct them unless you are intelligent? Surely not. It is plain, therefore, that the acquisition of useful knowledge is essential to your usefulness. Think of their immortality! How, as parents, they neglect the duties which they owe to their children;—and, as children, they neglect the duties which they owe their parents. Think how, as husbands, they neglect the duties which they owe their wives;—and, as wives, they neglect the duties which they owe their husbands! Think how they neglect and despise the relations of neighbor to neighbor;—and above all, think, O think, how they trample upon unhalloved feet their relations to almighty God!!! Think of the vice which abounds among them—the lies—the blasphemies and frauds. The debaucheries, adulteries, and violations of the matrimonial vows! Think of the malice, and hatred, and anger, which rankle in their bosoms! Then think of the deep, deplorable, and damning degradation into which they have been plunged by immorality and vice! Then remember that the main, if not the whole of these evils, are attributable to their ignorance;—that you are in duty bound to labor for their mental, moral, and civil elevation;—that

this elevation is to be effected by the power of truth—and that the truth is to be lodged in your own minds; then will you readily perceive that the happiness of your race depends upon your intelligence, yea, demands it of you.

The acquisition of useful knowledge is good, because God himself commands you to acquire it. That this assertion is true, you will not doubt, when you remember the parable of the talents recorded by Matthew, chapter 25, verse 14—30, and the first ten chapters in Proverbs. But if there was neither an expressed or implied command in all the Bible, the truth of the last proposition could be inferred from the intellectual structure of your minds, which we have already hastily glanced at. But God has commanded you to “do good,” and to do it in every possible way. Now to acquire useful knowledge is to do good; therefore God has commanded you to acquire it. Again God has commanded you to “do good.” To improve the mental, moral, and civil condition of your people is to “do good,” and this is the command of God. But can you accomplish this without knowledge? We have already shown that you cannot. We repeat again, God has commanded you to “do good” in the manner we have just pointed out. But you say you have not the qualifications. What, then, is the implied will of Heaven in relation to this matter? Why, that you seek the necessary qualifications; and does not conscience echo back this command? You dare not say no. Further; that this is the implied will of Heaven concerning you, we argue from the circumstances of your people. These, in every respect that they may be viewed, call loudly upon you to prepare yourselves for usefulness. They call upon you to arm yourselves with the weapons of intellectual and moral warfare, and come up to their succor; even to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

It is good, therefore, to acquire useful knowledge, because God, in his word and providence, commands you to do it.

From the above arguments, we justly infer that it is *your indispensable duty* to labor daily for the acquisition of useful knowledge. That it is a duty obligatory upon you, by every high and noble consideration in nature, reason, and Revelation. The design, therefore, of your Institute, is not only good in itself, and in its influence upon others, but it is also, by the very virtue of its nature, your indispensable duty.

I am thus particular, because there are

some of the professed teachers of the people who would make you to believe that this pursuit is contrary to the religion of Jesus! They who maintain this position, are blind leaders of the blind, and not scribes well instructed into the kingdom of heaven. I conclude this epistle by remarking, that in whatsoever aspect the design of your Institute is viewed, whether in relation to your own happiness, the happiness of your fellow creatures, or the glory of God, it is a good design.—Wherefore, pursue it with diligence and delight, having as your motto,

"Knowledge to silver we prefer,
And gold is dust compared with her."

In haste, I am affectionately yours,

ORIGEN.

Columbia, Pa., Dec. 28th, 1838.

From "The Friend."

Remarks on the Opinion of the Supreme Court on the Rights of Colored Persons in relation to Suffrage.

(Continued from page 39.)

"Except for the word citizen which stands in the context also as a qualification, the affirmation of the proposition that every one not a slave is to be accounted an elector, would extend the right of suffrage to aliens; and to admit of any exception to the argument, its force being derived from the supposed universality of the term, would destroy it. Once concede that there may be a freeman in one sense of it, who is not so in another, and the whole ground is surrendered." But the word *citizen* is in the constitution, and therefore the constitution explains its own limitations. The *freemen* must be *citizens*, or they are not freemen in the sense wherein the term is there used. If this section of the constitution does not define the qualification of electors, why was it introduced? To ascertain who are, and who are not, entitled to vote at elections, we have this article of the constitution for our guide.—What it grants is granted, and what it excepts is constitutionally excepted. The elections are by the *citizens*, therefore foreigners, though freemen, are not entitled to the right of suffrage. Here is an exception to the universality of the term; but it is an exception which is in the constitution, and not supplied by doubtful construction. The electors must be of the age of twenty-one years. Though *citizens* and *freemen*, if under that age they are not entitled to vote. Here is another exception. The elector must have resided in the state two years next before the election, or he cannot vote. Here is another excep-

tion. He must also have paid, within that time, a state or county tax, or he is not entitled to the privilege of an elector. Here is another exception. But these exceptions are pointed out in the article which prescribes who shall and who shall not be electors. It is nugatory to claim a greater extent for the term *freemen* than the constitution assigns it. And to infer that because there are exceptions plainly set down in the constitution to the universality of the term, there must be other exceptions to be supplied by construction, is not very logical. Indeed, the expression of these exceptions furnishes an argument of no trivial character, against the admission of others, as it proves the care of the convention to mark the limitations of the elective franchise, by unquestionable words, and not leave them to dubious construction.

The important question, in what sense the convention of 1790 used the term *freeman*, might, I think, have been fairly answered by a reference to their own work. In the first article it is prescribed that an enumeration of the taxable inhabitants shall be made, and the number of representatives and senators in the different districts be adjusted according to the number of the taxable inhabitants. Nothing is said in regard to the color of these taxable inhabitants. There can be no doubt but it was intended they should all be represented. When the manner of choosing representatives was to be settled, the principle of taxation was particularly regarded. The electors must be payers of taxes. But they must also be citizens, not foreigners; of the age of twenty-one years, not minors; freemen, not servants or slaves; and men, not women. In all these things nothing appears to indicate a distinction of rights dependent upon color. The sense must be inferred, according to Judge Gibson, from the meaning which the word had acquired by use in public acts and legal proceedings, for the same reason that a dubious statute is to be expounded by usage. "The meaning of things spoken and written must be as hath been constantly received." But where has it been proved that the word *freeman* had, up to that time, been constantly received as denoting a white man, to the exclusion of the colored race? "On this principle it is difficult to discover how the word *freeman*, as used in previous public acts, could have been meant to include a colored race." To make this difficulty available, he ought to have shown that the word had been generally or frequently used in a sense wherein colored persons who were not slaves, could not be included; and that

free colored men were designated by a different term. But in the act of 1780 we find it declared that the offences and crimes of negroes and mulattoes, as well slaves and servants, as *freemen*, shall be inquired of, &c. Here the word is evidently used to designate negroes and mulattoes, who were not slaves or servants. Again, in the same paragraph, it is provided that a slave shall not be admitted to bear witness against a *freeman*. Has it ever been pretended that a slave can bear witness against a free colored, any more than against a free white man, in Pennsylvania? "As well might it be supposed that the declaration of universal and unalienable freedom in both our constitutions, was meant to comprehend it. Nothing was ever more comprehensively predicated, and a practical enforcement of it would have liberated every slave in the state, yet mitigated slavery long continued to exist among us, in utter derogation of it." Now what is the meaning of this passage? The declaration of rights, copied by the convention, substantially, but not verbatim, from the celebrated declaration of independence, proclaims the broad principle of the universal equality of man, and the inherent right of all to the enjoyment of liberty and life. This declaration was unquestionably intended to stand as an indubitable and unchangeable truth, when the slavery of the colored race, that lingering relict of barbarism and rapine, should be swept from our land. Will Judge Gibson risk the assertion, that our declaration of rights, or its precursor, the declaration of independence, was intended to apply only to white men? What a contemptible document would the Congress of 1776 have presented to the world, if they had expressly limited their declaration respecting the inherent and unalienable rights of man, to those who were white. There was no such limitation expressed or implied in either. The doctrine of inherent rights was fearlessly announced in both. But a selfish and temporizing policy prevented the full and practical application of these principles. Slavery had gained a place among us, and it was thought more safe and expedient to abolish it gradually, than to extirpate it at a blow. When our present constitution was formed, the slavery of the colored race, that anomaly of American legislation, was melting away under the operation of the law of 1780; and if the convention did not pronounce its instantaneous extinction, they laid down a principle which must preclude its revival in Pennsylvania.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the

constitution of Massachusetts, formed simultaneously with our abolition act, contains a declaration of rights very similar to ours; and that in the first action involving the right of a master, which came before the supreme judicial court, subsequent to the adoption of the constitution, the judges declared that by virtue of the first article of the declaration of rights, slavery no longer existed in the state. In Pennsylvania, about the year 1802, the case of negro Flora against J. Graisbury, her master, was brought before the high court of errors and appeals, and argued on constitutional grounds. The judges, when the argument was closed, gave their opinion, without assigning any reason for it, that Flora was a slave. Thus two legal tribunals, of high authority, having the same or similar constitutional articles to govern them, gave irreconcilable decisions. And this fact is easily explained by another. The number of slaves in Massachusetts was small, and therefore the interests and prejudices of the community did not prevent the judges there from giving a fair and candid exposition of the constitution.

To infer from the continuance of mitigated slavery in Pennsylvania, long after the adoption of our present constitution, that the declaration of rights was not designed to apply to the colored race, appears to me a strange aberration of legal penetration. We have in this section a proposition which is simple and general. If true at all, its truth is as general as the proposition itself. It is a declaration of rights, not of powers. There was then probably no one who denied the right, but the few whom a cruel system had stripped of their rights were still compelled to submit to the privation. Policy, not justice, demanded or was supposed to demand, their suspension. But were we even to admit an exception to the generality of its application, in order to establish the constitutionality of slavery, we certainly may limit the exception to those who were slaves. Now, there were, when this declaration was made, about six thousand five hundred free colored persons, and three thousand seven hundred slaves in the state. It is therefore apparent that the slavery of Pennsylvania, at that time, involved only about one-third of its colored population. The argument, that because one-third of the colored race in Pennsylvania were held in slavery, notwithstanding the general declaration of rights in favor of universal freedom, therefore the other two-thirds who were acknowledged to be free, must not be allowed to vote, although they may possess the quali-

fications of electors as laid down in the constitution, is certainly not very logical. But the practical inference that a colored man is not a freeman in the sense of the convention, although he is a freeman in law and in fact, because other colored men were long held in slavery in utter derogation of the constitution, is worse than illogical.

The judge seems to take it for granted that, in the constitution of 1776, the clause relative to electors was applicable to white men only; and hence infers that the convention of 1790, by adopting the language of the former convention, indicated a corresponding application. "Now, if the word *freeman* were not potent enough to admit a free negro to suffrage under the first constitution, it is difficult to discern a degree of magic in the intervening plan of emancipation, sufficient to give it adequate potency, in the apprehension of the convention under the second." If he has produced any evidence that the word *freeman* was not potent enough to admit a free negro to suffrage under the constitution of 1776, it is to be found, I suppose, in the disabilities to which the colored race were subjected by the law of 1726; which law he tells us was in force till repealed by the act of 1780. The magic would therefore appear to have been in the law of 1726, and not in the plan of emancipation. But that law being repealed in 1780, the disabilities resulting from it would cease of course.

The fact that the word *white* was prefixed to *freeman* in the original draft, and expunged upon the motion of Albert Gallatin, furnishes an argument which the judge appears at a loss to answer. The observation of Gallatin, to which he alludes, appears to have been rather a stroke of wit, intended to show the ridiculousness of the thing, than a serious argument. He is said to have observed that he was not *very white* himself, and he did not know on which side of the line the judges of the elections would place him. As the judge very justly observes, we must take the sense of the convention from the consummation of the act. Now as a majority of them voted for expunging the word *white*, they must have thought it objectionable; but it is difficult to conceive any rational objection to the word, if, in their opinion, the constitution would mean precisely the same thing without it as with it. If they intended that none but white men should vote, the retention of the word would at least have prevented an ambiguity. There was, therefore, upon that hypothesis, a reason for keeping it in, but none for striking it out.

Let us now look at a few well known facts, and try a supposition of our own. In the first place, it is well known that the contest with the mother country arose out of an attempt to tax the people of these then British colonies, by authority of a legislative assembly in which they were not represented. It was not the amount of the tax, which was objected to, but the authority by which it was laid. They claimed the right of being taxed by their own representatives only. In the preamble to the act of 1780, the Legislature of Pennsylvania expressed the following sentiments: "We conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which has been extended to us. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations." By the provisions of that law, no slave could be added to the number then in the state; and therefore it was obvious that slavery must in a few years become extinct in Pennsylvania.

Suppose now that the convention of 1790, having these facts before their eyes, expected the constitution to stand for ages, and were desirous to extend to the colored race the right of being taxed, in common with white citizens, by their own representatives; what language can we, upon this supposition, imagine they would have used in fixing the character of electors? Is not the expression as it now stands in the constitution perfectly consistent with such a supposition? Would they not, on this supposition, have expunged the word *white*? Would they not, in short, have made the constitution precisely as they did? But had they, on the other hand, designed to limit the rights of suffrage to white men, is it not probable that they would have left the word *white* in the constitution, so as to remove all obscurity from their meaning?

If the word *freeman* has, in Pennsylvania, a legal definition, different from that assigned to it in common use, it must have acquired it by the laws of 1682, which clearly explain what class of inhabitants should be deemed freemen in the province. That description plainly includes the class, whom the advocates of negro suffrage consider as constitutional electors. If any disabilities have, since that time, been fixed upon the negro race, they must have been created by those laws, relative to that class of our population, which were repealed by the abolition law of 1780. Hence, according to a well established princi-

ple of law, those disabilities are become extinct, and the original right revived.

"I have thought it fair to treat the question as it stands affected by our own municipal regulations, without illustration from those of other states where the condition of the race has been still less favored. Yet it is proper to say that the second section of the fourth article of the federal constitution presents an obstacle to the political freedom of the negro, which seems to be insuperable. It is to be remembered that citizenship, as well as freedom, is a constitutional qualification; and how it could be conferred so as to overbear the laws imposing countless disabilities on him in other states, is a problem of difficult solution. In this aspect, the question becomes one, not of intention but of power, so doubtful as to forbid the exercise of it." The article alluded to is, *The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states.*

The argument of Judge Gibson, if I understand him, is this: The federal constitution guarantees to the citizens of each state, the privileges and immunities of citizens in all the states; but the laws of several states have imposed countless disabilities on the negro race, totally inconsistent with the rights of citizenship, and we have not the power of securing the colored inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in case of their removing to other states, or travelling in them, from the operation of those unequal laws, therefore the colored inhabitants of Pennsylvania, while they remain in the state, cannot be considered as citizens. If I have done any injustice to the argument of the learned judge, it was unintentional. And if any of my readers should be convinced by this reasoning, that negroes are not citizens, or cannot be citizens, in this state, it will be needless to disturb their belief. It is, however, rather humiliating to a Pennsylvanian, to find it announced, from the bench of the supreme court, that we are not at liberty to adjust the rights of citizenship among ourselves without being limited and restrained by the slave-holding legislatures of the south; that we cannot extend to the free colored inhabitants of our state the rights which our fathers demanded at the cannon's mouth of the British government, unless the people of the south shall choose so to modify their laws, as to secure the rights of humanity to all classes and colors among them.

It is a fortunate circumstance for Pennsylvania, that the discovery of our subserviency to southern legislation was not made sixty years ago, or it might perhaps have appeared

that we had no right to abolish slavery in this state, without the consent of our sister states. The danger to which persons and property in other states would be exposed by the example, might have been urged upon us; and the inhabitants of Pennsylvania have been, at this day, staggering under the burden of a slave population; and cherishing as a right what they, in their hearts, detested as a moral and political evil.

For some time previous to the war of 1812, it was commonly understood that the British officers were in the practice of impressing native American seamen to serve in their ships of war. Now, inasmuch as it was found nearly impracticable to prevent this encroachment upon the rights of American citizens, what a pity it is that Congress, or the Cabinet at Washington, did not take counsel of Judge Gibson, and learn that the question was not one of right but of power, so doubtful as to preclude its exercise. By gravely concluding that seamen, though white, born in the United States, and sailing under American protections, were, nevertheless, not citizens of the United States, because the British officers compelled some of them to serve against a nation with whom we were at peace, a very troublesome and exciting question might have been settled in a summary manner. The argument, it appears to me, would have been the same in principle as that advanced by Judge Gibson. The difference in the application would have been this. The conduct of the aggressors in the case of the seamen could not be effectually controlled without a resort to arms; but the case of the colored citizens might probably be reached by the laws of the Union.

The doctrine which is certainly implied, if not directly expressed, in the last quotation from Judge Gibson's opinion, is one of greater extent and importance than the question of suffrage. It is probably a matter of little practical moment to the colored race in Pennsylvania whether they are at liberty to vote at elections or not. But their rights of citizenship are of great importance. And those rights are implicitly if not explicitly denied in the opinion before us. The momentous discovery that free colored persons are not citizens, appears to be due to Andrew T. Judson, Esq. of Connecticut. As the people of Canterbury were greatly alarmed at the prospect of having a boarding school established in their vicinity, for the education of colored girls, they procured a law, termed the Connecticut black act, to prevent the evil; a law which was obviously unconstitutional if the

negroes were citizens. The discovery was therefore required to support the measures of those who thought the people of Connecticut would be ruined, in case Prudence Crandall should be permitted to teach colored girls reading, writing, geography, and sacred music. It is true that Judge Dagget gave his official opinion that they were not citizens. But we need not be surprised at this when we consider the circumstances of the case. If he could have got through the trial, as the judges of the high court of errors and appeals are supposed to have done, without giving any reasons for his opinion, he would have acted prudently to withhold them; for the world would then have given him credit for some *reasons*, but having submitted his reasons to the public, they turn out when examined, to be so weak, and to exhibit so little examination, as to excite surprise that nothing more plausible could be advanced on the subject. And now Judge Gibson advocates the same doctrine, because we cannot compel the people of the south to accord to the free people of color from the north the rights which citizenship confers.

A brief historical notice of the clause in the constitution, which he thinks excludes the whole colored race from the character of citizens, may probably illustrate the argument of the learned judge. By the fourth of the articles of confederation agreed upon in 1778, it was provided that the free inhabitants of these states shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states. While these articles were under consideration, the delegates from South Carolina moved, in behalf of their state, to insert the word *white*, between free and inhabitants. The votes, being by states, were ayes, two states; nays, eight states. One state divided. At that time all the states tolerated slavery, yet the revolutionary congress decided, by an overwhelming majority, that free negroes should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states. The present constitution was adopted between nine and ten years after this decision, and the clause was copied into it with a few verbal alterations. It is fair to presume that the meaning of this clause was not changed by its transfer from the articles of confederation to the new constitution. Its meaning in the former was settled by a vote of eight states against two. No words were introduced to exclude the free colored race; and none were expunged by which they can be supposed to be excluded. No desire was manifested at the time to exclude them from

citizenship; and in the debates respecting the adoption of the new constitution, it does not appear that their exclusion was considered as a part of its provisions. For upwards of forty years after the adoption of this constitution no apprehension was entertained that the free blacks were divested of the rights of citizenship, which they enjoyed under the confederation. The doctrine was advanced, as a kind of forlorn hope, in a desperate case. But the discovery has come too late. The cotemporary exposition of the term citizen has fixed its application.

The act of Congress of 1792, for organizing the militia, provides for the enrollment of *free white male citizens*. Implying of course that there were citizens who were not white, as well as citizens who were not males. An act of Congress of 1803, prohibits masters and captains of vessels from bringing into any port, &c., where the laws of the state prohibit the importation, any negro, mulatto, or other person of color, not being a native, a *citizen* or registered seaman of the United States, &c.

The constitution of the state of New York denies the right of suffrage to men of color unless they have been for three years citizens of the state. And the laws of New York require that a man of color, before he is permitted to vote at elections, shall swear or affirm that he has been for three years a citizen of the state. In the convention of New York, in 1821, Rufus King closed an argument on behalf of the people of color, with the declaration, that as certainly as the children of any white man are citizens, so certainly the children of the black man are citizens.

Impressed colored sailors have been claimed by the national government as citizens of the United States; and colored men, going to Europe, have received passports from the department of state, certifying that they were citizens of the United States.

The proposed constitution of Missouri required the legislature to pass such laws as might be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to settle in the state, under any pretext whatever. The legislature of New York in reference to this provision, in the autumn of 1820, "Resolved, if the provisions contained in any proposed constitution of a new state deny to any citizen of the existing states the privileges and immunities of citizens of such new state, that such proposed constitution should not be accepted or confirmed; the same, in the opinion of the legislature, being void by the constitution of the United States." The constitution being submitted to congress, the article excluding


colored citizens was deemed, by the house of representatives, a violation of the national compact, and that body refused to receive Missouri into the Union. A compromise was at last agreed to, and Congress admitted Missouri on the express condition that the offensive clause should never authorize any law by which any citizen of any of the states should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled by the constitution of the United States; and that the legislature of Missouri should, by a solemn act, declare their assent to this condition. The legislature passed the act required, and thereupon the state became a member of the Union.

The attempt to divest the colored race of their citizenship, is the more alarming as it affects their title to real estate. By an estimate recently made from authentic documents, it appears that the colored inhabitants of Philadelphia possess real estate to the value of from five to six hundred thousand dollars. In the city of New York, real estate valued at fifty thousand dollars was not long ago devised to a free colored man. If they are now to be divested of citizenship, and rendered incapable of holding real property, may we not charge it upon their white oppressors if they should become as idle and worthless as their greatest enemies are accustomed to represent them?

The point adjudged, is that colored men are not entitled to the elective franchise. The opinion that they are not citizens is but obscurely expressed. It is, however, expressed with sufficient clearness to enable a judge of one of our inferior courts, when a question of property dependent upon citizenship shall come before him, to infer that in the opinion of the supreme court the people of color are not citizens, and therefore, however it is to be regretted, he is not at liberty to decide that they are. This adjudication may be considered as an evidence of the dimness of vision produced by the murky atmosphere of slavery which spreads its fogs and vapors over those who are connected with it by commercial and political ties. There is yet one hope to console us, that the time will come when the bench of the supreme court of Pennsylvania may be filled by men of more enlightened and liberal minds, who will perceive the injustice of this decision, and stamp their veto upon it. E. L.

Errata.—In the first portion of this essay, page 38, third column, 11th line from bottom, for "hath a servant," read "hath been a servant," and in page 39, second column, 6th line from bottom, for "word," read "moral."

We publish the communication of "A Friend" with pleasure, and trust we may have others from the same source, on some important subject that will illustrate our principles. The suggestions he makes did not escape our consideration, and a portion of them will be attended to as soon as we can make the necessary arrangements. We solicit female aid in our undertaking, with the hope that our columns may be enriched by the valuable effusions of their minds. But we acknowledge we are unable to see the necessity of selecting for them a separate department. Their interests are inseparably connected with our own, in the cause of humanity. Our organs of sense, and reasoning powers, belong not to us peculiarly as males, or females, but as human beings. We believe that their mental capacities are equal to their brethren, and we have no disposition to gratify the vanity of either sex, by instituting a comparison. As the suggestion of "A Friend" is one in which the "females" are interested, we shall be pleased to hear from them on this subject in our next number.

 We publish in another column the prospectus of the "Colored American" for 1839. We are pleased to find that the proprietors, Messrs. BELL, RAY, and GLOUCESTER, intend enlarging their sheet, and have secured the services of Dr. JAMES M'CUNE SMITH in the editorial department with our friend CORNISH. We anticipate for its readers a valuable and interesting paper, emanating from the combined exertions of its erudite conductors.

"ORDER REIGNS IN WARSAW."

The spirit of anarchy is predominant—the capital of our state has been besieged with a mob for thirteen days—the soldiery is dismissed—political parties have kissed each other—both houses have been organized—the message of the Governor is received, and the Legislature is in session.

To the Editor of the National Reformer.

Dear Sir,—I have received the *first*, (and before I have had time to review that,) the

second number of the "*National Reformer*." The appearance of the first number of your periodical is truly gratifying to one of the true friends to your invaluable institution, and therefore calls upon me for this humble expression of my opinion respecting it, and to contribute to its columns this mark of my approbation. The name it bears is good, very good, notwithstanding, I should have been pleased if the word "*moral*" could have been squeezed in somewhere in its title, as the principal object in establishing it, is to disseminate the principles of the American Moral Reform Society, and devoted exclusively to the support of its doctrines; such an organ is needed, and therefore presents its claims to every man who comes under the principles and precepts of the Bible. You have confined its title to the nation, doubtless because it is the most guilty; be it so, but if the words, "*The Moral*," were substituted for "*National*," would it not embrace the world, upon which its principles are designed to operate. But I will not cavil about a name; I merely drop these suggestions for your consideration; as for myself, I am contented either way. Your motto is good, and measurably corresponds with its title; I would, however, be glad if you would add the text recorded in the 7th chapter of Matthew, 12th verse, viz.: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." I would also be glad if you would have a department for each of the four cardinal principles of our society; also, a Female, Children's, and Miscellaneous, department. I think it would advance the interest of the society and periodical. These are a few of the minor suggestions I would make at present; I hope they may at least claim your consideration.

I am, however, happy to see from your prospectus, that you do not "design to enter the field against any other periodical whose principles of moral right are based upon republican equality," as I trust this will satisfy the minds of all those of our brethren, who are so tenacious about a name, and have sworn upon the altar of prejudice, everlasting enmity against all those who would countenance an organ for the American Moral Reform Society, on the ground that it was considered to be in opposition to a paper called the "*Colored American*," because some of the leading members of the said society differed upon some minor point—a name.

If they are honest, the declaration in your

prospectus is enough to satisfy any honest heart; if not, let them rail on. They will ere long fall upon their own sword. Pursue the straight-forward course laid down in your prospectus and address, which are both excellent, and I have no doubt but you will succeed in your glorious object,—the dissemination of the principles of our invaluable society, the cardinal points of which are Education, Temperance, Economy and Universal Liberty. These are the principles of the Bible, and will "stand unhurt amidst the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds." Having forwarded my subscription to our friend Burr, I will say no more at present, but beg you to excuse the medley of

A FRIEND.

IMPORTANT NEWS FROM LIBERIA.

To Lewis Tappan, Esq., New York, U. S. America, via London.

Very dear Sir,—In looking over some memorandums of my correspondence with the Colonization Societies in America, I find a letter, addressed by you to me, when in North Carolina, the subject matter whereof having been replied to at that time, the review at this date seems only to call up the remembrance of former kindnesses, an acknowledgement whereof I would on no proper occasion omit to make. This premised, I now set me to the task of making you acquainted, so far as my own knowledge, derived from observation and information, extends, with the particulars of our situation, and the prospects connected with these settlements of the Colony of Liberia. I was sent here under the patronage of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania and New York, for the purpose of making developements of the resources of the soil in Africa. I accordingly arrived on the 7th day of February, 1838, on board the barque Marine, but had no communication from the shore until the next day; a note was sent to the Captain, Buckmar, inquiring whether his was the vessel containing the expedition looked for from the United States. We were then on the eve of starting for the shore, and, of course, did not wait to have any further correspondence on the subject, but pushed off, and on the 8th day of February, my feet first pressed the soil of wretched Africa. The situation of these two places, Edina and Bassa Cove, is picturesque enough, and were the people and the government industrious and efficient, something of the delightful might be made out of them; this, however, is altogether gratuitous on my part, for panegyric from me is the last thing looked for by colonizationists; and again, the climate,

soil, and economy here forbid that anything of importance shall be accomplished, at least for some time to come.

I was, on landing, walked up to a tolerable looking house, and introduced to the Rev. Governor J. J. Matthias. This governor had heard of me, my purpose, design, intention, &c. &c., and every accommodation and assistance should be given me, as it had been particularly requested by Governor Buchanan. But lo! the sad discrepancy there oft times is betwixt our practices and our professions; our accommodations were proposed in some half-a-dozen pens made of poles, about the size of such as a Southern white man, in his fury, would snatch up to beat a negro with; and these pens covered with thatch—do you know what that is?—the foliage of a shrub called bamboo, tied on, so as when dry to admit the water by the most easy and convenient means, next to leaving the roof uncovered. These I utterly refused to go into; and had to hire houses from the people of Edina, at a great expense, for the whole of our expedition, 70 in number.

My next essay was to make provision for such of our people as could get on shore, during that day, as nothing could be landed from the vessel. I was very readily furnished by the Governor's store-keeper with a barrel of rotten corn meal, for which, owing to my having none to return in place of it, I had to pay the pretty little trifle of \$8. My next application to his Excellency, was on the subject of land. I found that I was destined to a settlement up the St. Johns, six miles from the bar; and that on my taking the oath of allegiance, I could have what quantity of land I wished. But now comes the tug of war.—After delay of four weeks, and so much valuable time lost, I was presented with the Constitution of Bassa Cove, manufactured for the special use of Hankerson or some other person's slaves. Surprise, indignation, and every other temper such an insult was calculated to inspire, aroused me almost to a transport of fury, and I vowed, so help me God! to die, rather than take an oath to support such a Constitution. I then told his governorship, that I had come from the United States to be freed from the tyranny of the white man, and that I should not be easily brought again to submit to it;—but, my dear sir, 'tis but a vain boast, for all the while that we are here we are subject to it. Fancy to yourself an establishment—call it a plantation, or what you will—with but a single white man at the head of its affairs; the laws that govern it framed by him, or by his prede-

cessor, which is the same; himself the executive, and so down to the veriest lackey in the concern, all of his appointment; see this same white man in the possession of, and accountable to nobody that can bring him to account for, all the funds contributed by the gullies of colonization; see him without the smallest degree of mercantile knowledge, laying on and charging enormous advances, say one to two hundred per cent. on the very necessities procured by voluntary contributions, gotten together under pretence of benefiting the colored man in Africa, and of which he receives not one iota beyond what he buys, and must pay for at the enormous advances charged on their original costs in the United States.

And for whose benefit are these charges made? not the individual donors, not the managers of the society, not the colonists;—who then? why just nobody, that father of all mischiefs. But it is characteristic enough of any man, who would come here and satisfy himself with the blushing honors of being called governor, over a few crazy freed negroes and mulattoes. You may be disposed to smile at the application I make of the term crazy freed negroes, &c., but, sir, listen to facts, and then judge of its propriety. In the first place, they have aimed at producing certain effects by unapt causes. Secondly, they have exerted reasoning, if such it can be called, without proper data to ground their opinions on; and thirdly, they have striven to deduce certain consequences from illy founded premises. Now to explain this—some of the colonists, on their arrival in this country, were in the possession of some amount of money; and instead of remembering themselves to be no more than exiles from their native home, and husbanding their resources, they set up a kind of aristocracy, and, in order to maintain their dignity, spent more than all they had. A second class, are those who went upon the plan of living by their wits; and of all the devil's inventions to keep people poor, this has most wonderfully succeeded: for how can men thrive by such means, when there is not in their community subjects for their wits to be exercised upon. And a third class, ashamed to beg and too proud to work, went upon the trading scheme, for finding the gullibility of the natives and the easy and cheap rate for which their stuffs could be had, they chose rather to compound with their backs and stomachs until they could no longer be trusted, and so their revenues ceased; and finally, every one, until now, seems to have forgotten that we are to obtain our bread in the sweat of our face. You may

tend to Christianize Africa. I always doubted yet prepared to say, whether people

fancy this a distorted picture of affairs in Liberia; but, sir, I would rather my right hand should perish from my body, than it should pen a lie. For there is not an individual man who does not eat the beef and pork of some society, or who has not ate of it until he has almost become choked therewith, but will tell you, if he had it to do again he would prefer to die rather than come here. I have conversed with several, not only of these settlements, but many belonging to the old colony, and have asked them why they have suffered such lies favoring these colonies to be circulated and published in the United States.

Why, sir, say the more intelligent, misery, you know, likes company! and, sir, say another class, I did not like to become conspicuous in any way, either for or against the Society. And, say a third class, we were afraid, as we were here, if we said any thing no more people would come, and we should be too weak to stand against the natives. And, say a fourth, which forms the great majority, we know nothing about what has been said, only this we know, that if we had the means of getting away we would not stay here. Now, sir, it is my being involved with such a wretched pack that gives acerbity to my temper. Would I not rather die, than do the devil's work in thus deceiving people to their ruin? for it does seem to me, that with the one exception of Mr. Nobody making money out of the goods sent here, instead of giving them, as I always thought or understood was intended to be done, to the poor perishing colonists for their help and support, the rest is only a well schemed project of destruction. It has been said that the Colony at Monrovia was improving. No such thing, sir; it is DYING, but may not expire before its sisters Edina and Bassa Cove shall have taken its disease, (the slave trade,) and both go off together.

It has been said that the slave trade had disappeared from this part of the coast. If ever it was the case, there is now a fearful reaction; for the first vessel I saw near the shore, a few miles above, and in sight of Monrovia, was shown to me as a slaver; and at Crew Town, a place in sight of our Governor's seat, I have seen divers vessels, of whom it was said to me, they are slavers, sir. And so far from the slave trade being at all diminished, I am of opinion that it now is carried on around, about and amongst us to a fearfully alarming degree. Again, it has been said, that the establishment of Christian Colonies of free blacks on this coast, would tend to Christianize Africa. I always doubted

the fact, and now I know it to be *false*. So very far from this being the case, I will venture to affirm, that could a correct analysis be made of the progression of mind, and the weight of physical influence in the two castes, that the preponderance would be shown in favor of the colonist approximating nearest to the heathen's barbarity. True, there have been some very few converts of natives to Christianity; but for every one so converted, five Americans have pulled off their clothes and gone naked: and there is not a child now growing up in the colony who would not prefer speaking Hebo or Bassa to common English, and not only using their jargon but also adopting their manners and customs; and such, to me, are fearful signs as regards colonization.

The land on the sea coast, you in all probability have been informed, is sandy, and in many places low and marshy, and hence it is very poor and good for nothing; but as you go toward the interior it is gently undulating, with here and there a bluff, making to the river, as the mounts or capes do on the sea. This land is of a mixed quality, and some very good spots may be selected for farm settlements. Such an one is, I think, selected by our masters for our occupancy; my having refused to become a citizen of this realm by swearing to be a white man's slave, threw me out of the pale of regal favor, and I had to take a lease of 600 acres, to enable me to carry out my verbal promise, made to the Society who sent me here. I think it probable we shall succeed, though I have already made myself sick; and as there is no alternative but pump or drown, I will work so long as I can, and quit when I can do no more. I think it unnecessary to enter into a detail of the peculiar barbarousness of this country, and its yet more barbarous natives;—though if there were to be seen nothing more than its roads and waters, it would, in the "tout ensemble," be a tolerable prospect: but oh! the millions of millions of ants that every where cover the ground, and mounds of earth, yclep'd bug-a-bug hills, thrown up here, there, and every where, you know not how or why; and the chattering of monkeys, and the unearthly sound of the whaw-whaw, enough in themselves to drive civilization back to its original darkness, and make chaos come again.

I believe I will weary you no longer with this detail, but if you desire it, you can have an abundance more of the same relation.

I know not that our experiment will make for or against the colonization scheme, as I am not yet prepared to say, whether people ought to

come here or not; this is one of the objects I have in view, and to arrive legitimately at these conclusions, will require further experiments than I have yet made. When my conclusions are formed either way, (all's alike to me,) you shall have it; and, in the meantime, I beg you to send me some American papers, as I should like to know what is going on in the states, not that I feel much interest in these matters at the present, but that it would be agreeable to know the ascendancy of parties as they occur, forasmuch as we expect them to change.

Accept my high consideration, and
am, yours most respectfully,
LOUIS SHERIDAN.
Edina, Liberia, 16th July, 1838.

OUR NEXT VOLUME.

On the 5th of January next, we will commence the 3d Volume of the COLORED AMERICAN.

We have of late kept on "the even tenor of our way," without troubling our readers with our private affairs;—but on beginning a new volume, we will take the liberty to digress a little from our usual course, and lay before our patrons our prospects, and our future intentions;—hoping they will cordially unite with us, in endeavoring to extend the circulation of our paper, and thereby increase its usefulness. The great amount of good which the Colored American has effected during the two years of its existence, is known and acknowledged. It has been *one* of the most efficient organs in advancing the cause of the colored man, and it is by the influence of this, or a similar publication, that we can ever expect to rise; for who, like us, can so well plead our own cause; and who, to use a homely adage, can so well tell where the shoe pinches, as he who wears it?

We intend, with the new volume, to commence an entire new course. We will enlarge the paper, so as to give nearly *one third* more reading matter. We have engaged as assistant Editor, Dr. JAMES M'CUNE SMITH, whose superior abilities, in connexion with the experience of our present able Editor, will give additional interest to our publication.

To make the Colored American more generally useful, we will give weekly a *price current*, corrected and revised expressly for this paper. We will also give a greater amount of the news of the day, foreign and domestic; in fact, we will endeavor to make the Colored American, a useful family paper.


To effect these objects, we must necessarily

be under great additional expense; we, therefore, hope our friends and subscribers will support us accordingly. Our expenses are now rising fifty dollars per week; how near we have met them our acknowledgments will show.

When we commence the next volume, in addition to considerable outlay in purchasing new materials, &c. our weekly expenses will be near seventy dollars. Our subscribers and agents will, therefore, see the necessity of all the aid they can render us.

To our agents more directly we must appeal; we require now more money, and a larger number of subscribers than formerly, and we hope they will, by the first of January, remit us the arrearages on all old subscribers, and send us several additional names, with the money in advance.

Several of our country subscribers are in arrears; to such (where there are no agents) we will send the bills, and we hope they will remit the amount due us forthwith; to them, individually, the sum is small, while to us the aggregate is considerable.

We will also make our paper a good medium for *advertising*: we therefore solicit the patronage of our friends in that line. We propose publishing a few business cards (specimens of which we give this week) in a neat style, at four dollars per annum. Longer advertisements in proportion.  All advertisements must in future be paid for.

The terms of our paper will still be the same, viz. Two Dollars per year, payable in all cases in *ADVANCE*—we *cannot* depart from this rule, as the life and existence of a newspaper is ready money.

As long as our subscribers send us their money, we will send them a paper worth the price we ask. We are willing to devote our time, talents, and energies, to make the Colored American worthy the cause it advocates, but more we cannot give; money is required to carry on our operations, which we expect our patrons will be as prompt in sending, as we shall be in issuing our paper: they look for the paper weekly, and it is unjust, and ungenerous, to think that we can fulfil our obligations, unless they honestly transmit what is due us.

P. A. BELL, for the Proprietors.

HOLIDAYS.

The annual return of "Christmas" and "New-Year" are generally periods of rejoicing. Friend meets friend, and brothers and sisters greet each other with the usual

compliments of the season. Melancholy seems to have departed from every countenance, while a spirit of rejoicing animates every bosom. Amidst the ravages of poverty, we feel rich—laden with the chains of oppression, we feel free. We are too apt to forget that we are exiled from the constitutional rights and privileges of American freemen, and spend our time and hard-earned means in a way that destroys both our interest and happiness. We worship our appetites and pleasures, at the expense of pain and dishonor. If the philanthropist appeals to our benevolence in the support of some noble scheme for the benefit of the human family, we at once discover our real situation, and exclaim, we are a "poor, degraded people," without the means to support laudable enterprises. Let us examine ourselves, and see if our contributions to unnecessary purposes corresponds with this assertion. In the statistical report of the condition of the colored population of this city, we find the following statements, viz.:—

4 literary institutions,
3 debating societies,
64 benevolent associations.

The latter, every winter season, are in the habit of celebrating their anniversaries by a subscription supper. Their numbers may be variously estimated from 40 to 200 members each. Suppose 50 societies, with 40 members, at \$1, have a supper, and we have the round sum of

\$2,000 00

Their population is 25,000. Now suppose there are 5,000 belonging to temperance societies, while the balance spend 25 cts. for ardent spirits,

5,000 00

We may safely set down the expense of private luxury at 12½ cents each for 25,000 persons, and we have for this city alone,

3,125 00

It would be underrating the public spirit of our sister city of New York, with all her licensed dram-shops at almost every corner, to set her down at less than

12,000 00

To this we shall place to the account of Boston,

2,000 00

And to the city of Baltimore,

6,000 00

And we have the round sum of

\$30,125 00

And if the same rule of economy were applied to all the small towns and villages throughout the nominally free states, it would swell the sum to \$60,000, without affecting the circumstances of any, while, if it were properly disposed of, it would tell upon the character and interests of our people, beyond all the other acts of their lives. A friend from the south, at our elbow, asserts, that if the same rule of economy was resorted to in South Carolina, New Orleans, and other places in the south, it would swell the sum over \$100,000 annually. This is a monstrous sum to be expended foolishly by a people situated under such peculiar circumstances. The moral reformation of any people, will make them both rich and happy.

The original of all men is the same, and virtue is the only nobility.

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.
New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.
New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.
Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.
" Columbia—Stephen Smith.
" Harrisburg—Junius C. Morell.

PROSPECTUS OF THE NATIONAL REFORMER,

Published in Philadelphia by the Board of Managers of the American Moral Reform Society. WM. WHITTEN, Editor.

Our object in establishing the *National Reformer*, is to disseminate the principles and measures of the *American Moral Reform Society*. For the want of an organ, devoted exclusively to the support of the doctrines we maintain, our objects have been grossly misunderstood. We do not lay claim to the establishment of any new principles, but only advocate the practical fulfilment and universal application of those that are already acknowledged by the friends of equal rights and impartial justice. We do not enter the arena against any periodical, whose principles of moral right are based on republican equality. We design to occupy a sphere in the moral reformation of this age and country, that has but partially claimed the attention of those that have preceded us. So far as our limits will permit, we shall endeavor to give a vigorous support to the cause of human rights.

The size of the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal octavo, and published monthly, at \$1 00 a year, in advance—six copies for \$5 00.

All communications, &c., relating to the editorial department should be addressed, *post paid*, to ROBERT CURVIS, No. 11 Jefferson Row. Those that relate to subscriptions to this paper, must be directed to JAMES McCRUMMILL, 266 North Third Street.

JOHN P. ROBERTS has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the *Reformer*.

LYDIA WHITE'S
REQUIRED LABOR GROCERY
AND
DRY GOODS STORE.

No. 219 NORTH SECOND STREET, PHILA.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH.—Acts xvii, 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 5.

PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY, 1839.

VOL. I.

THE NEW YEAR.

THE opening of the new year presents to many a source of felicitous enjoyment; while others are pouring forth their deep lamentations and bitter regrets over the scenes of the past, and their foreboding prospects of the future. Some are busily engaged in beseeching Almighty God to overthrow the wickedness of this world, so that the "wrath of man shall be made to praise him." Others are deeply sympathizing with the suffering poor; and are anxiously contemplating with profound humility the prospect of coming events. Such is the weak and puerile power of man in his most civilized state; he is unable to divine the wisdom of Omnipotence, or contemplate the object of his destiny. All those that from sincerity of principle have buckled on the armor of righteousness, to extend the principles of eternal justice, have, doubtless, dedicated their souls anew on the altar of our common Lord, firmly resolved to labor with renewed vigor, for the cause of suffering humanity.

The present aspects of the times, throughout our whole country, appears to be pregnant with evil forebodings. Before the end of the present year, the impending wrath of the wicked may send forth its "poisonous lava" over the fairest portions of society. The hurricane violence of the storm may deafen the nation with its roaring thunder, and make desolate the habitations of those that are now enjoying quietude and repose. The "red arm of war" may stain the soil with the blood of its votaries. Every state in this Union may be studded with the tombstones of those who, like the martyred Lovejoy, died in defence of their country's freedom. The tumults in the national Congress may be succeeded by a more dangerous and deadly conflict among the people themselves. The terrific flames of the "Pennsylvania Hall," may be

but like the light of a candle, in comparison with the conflagration of some noble city, whose light will, in its imposing grandeur, illumine the heavens, and far outrival the "blazes of Moscow." The recent demonstrations of disorder and outlawry, at Harrisburg, may be followed up until the wheels of government become locked, and an *interregnum* in the civil affairs of this nation be the consequence. But, if all this should take place, we have but little to fear. It is not in our power to avert these storms. Those that commit these depredations, have the keeping of their own liberties. As a *distinct people*, the American government is not ours. We have no federal union to protect us in our ingress and egress throughout the several states. So, if those that possess the "civil power" overthrow their present system of government by their suicidal attempts to enforce a system of despotism, on their own heads must fall the consequence. They will then only find themselves where they have placed us from the beginning.

As far as we, who reside in Pennsylvania, are concerned, we are entering on the threshold of a new and untried epoch, in the history of our state legislation. The republican doctrines of equal rights, as set forth by the revolutionary fathers, has been annihilated by the imperial dictates of their degenerate sons. "Taxation, without representation," is sound republican doctrine in the land of Penn, and the home of Franklin. Tell it not in the land of the Czar, the dominions of the Sultan, or the monarchies of Europe, lest the enemies of freedom rejoice. True it is, the enemies of free principles have succeeded in disfranchising us,—but let them not rejoice:—every act of injustice done us, wounds the cause of philanthropy, and will prove to be a dagger in the character of the institutions throughout the Commonwealth. In the present condition

of things, it is but of little use to contemplate on the past. Let us fix our hopes on the future, adopting the language of our declaration of sentiment:—

“Let us not lament, that under the present constituted powers of this government we are disfranchised; better far than to be partakers of its guilt. Let us refuse to be allured by the glittering endowments of official stations, or enchanted with the robe of American citizenship. But let us choose, like true patriots, rather to be the victims of oppression than the administrators of injustice.”

It is our duty to avoid giving offence to the laws, but our principles are too republican in their nature to allow us to reverence the Constitution under which we live. Those that are deeply imbued with the “spirit of caste,” and are opposed to all men enjoying equal rights and privileges, are alone capable of bestowing admiration upon it, and rendering it their homage. To us it is both monarchical and despotic. Monarchical, because it places the whole powers of the government, present and hereditary, in the hands of those of an opposite complexion. Despotic, because it robs us in the shape of taxes, after it has denied us the rights and privileges of citizens under said government. And because it is an admitted principle in all republican governments, “that all a man earns is his against the whole world, his government accepted;” and yet, in defiance of this principle, when we have virtually no government, we are called upon to support the existing despotism that rules us.

NEW ENGLAND NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY.

We publish in our columns to-day the declaration of sentiment and constitution of the New England Non-Resistance Society for the special benefit of our readers. It is a document of rare worth and infinite importance. It is written with ability and care, and combines great purity of motive with an exalted standard of Christian duty. The doctrines it maintains strike a blow against the foundation principles of all existing governments; and if they are maintained in the

spirit they were adopted, they are calculated to produce the greatest revolution in the conduct and character of men that the world ever witnessed. The most of the arguments it maintains, appear to us to be irresistible. That part of them that relates to our moral and Christian duties with regard to civil government, we frankly confess, we are not prepared to adopt. We want more light on this subject. The Liberator has always been precious in our sight, on account of its bold and manly advocacy of just principles; but since it has opened its columns to the discussion of the peace question, it has been more valuable to us than ever. The course pursued by Mr. GARRISON has ever been such as to put his enemies to flight, by practically living down the base and wicked calumnies of his enemies. If the colored population of this country were to follow his example, by joining the above-named society, every argument of the proslavery apologists about the “slaves cutting their masters’ throats,” would be dashed in pieces, and hurled to the four winds of heaven.

EDITOR.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS,

Adopted by the Peace Convention, held in Boston, September 18, 19, and 20, 1838.

Assembled in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth, and good will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a DECLARATION, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful, universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government, by a resort to physical force. We recognise but one KING and LAW-GIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or in-

equality of sex; the officers of which are PEACE, its exactors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity, only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens, are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. *The PRINCE OF PEACE, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy; but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.*

We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If he may use a dagger or a pistol, they may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace, or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrongdoing with impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with His will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed, that THE POWERS THAT BE, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit, or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies thereof; they cannot be agreeable to the will of God: and, therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but

all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government, requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature, or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore any thing which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but, if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, has been abrogated by JESUS CHRIST; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. VENGEANCE IS MINE—I WILL REPAY, SAITH THE LORD.

The history of mankind is crowded with evidences, proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful disposition of man can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth; for the violent who resort to the sword, shall perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy,—of safety to property, life, and liberty,—of pub-

lie quietude and private enjoy ~~ment~~,—as well as on the ground of allegiance to HIM, who is KING OF KINGS, and LORD OF LORDS,—we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence and murder. It neither fears God, nor regards man. *We* would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work:—we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail iniquity in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing, civil, political, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time, when the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our LORD and of his CHRIST, and he shall reign for ever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted, when swords shall be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell, or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the SON OF GOD on earth.

Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

We expect to prevail through the FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING—striving to commend ourselves unto every man's conscience, in the sight of God. From the press we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the co-operation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of TEMPERANCE and of ABOLITION in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and

voluntary associations, encourages us to combine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our state and national governments in relation to the subject of UNIVERSAL PEACE. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war, and the treatment of enemies.

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumult may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the MESSIAH, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the LORD ALMIGHTY, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of CHRIST'S sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to God, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. *For every one that forsakes houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for Christ's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.*

Firmly, relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this DECLARATION, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them,—in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin,—we hereby affix our signatures to it; commending it to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befall us, and resolving, in the strength of the LORD GOD, calmly and meekly to abide the issue.

HONESTY.—Every man is bound to be an honest man, but all cannot be great men!—he that is good is great, and if the foolish esteem him not so, let him stand to the verdict of his own conscience.

For the National Reformer.

CORRECTION OF CHILDREN.

Mr. Editor,—Should you think well of these few lines, you will oblige the writer by giving to them a place in your valuable periodical.

It was my good fortune, a few evenings since, to attend the lecture, delivered by Mr. ———, "On Corporeal Punishment of Children." It was both interesting and instructing, and had a salutary effect, I have no doubt, upon all that were present. I have ever held the same opinion with the lecturer, on the subject of rearing children, and have always believed that the vile practice of whipping was too frequently resorted to by parents. But the object that has induced me to ask a place for these lines in the Reformer, is, to call the attention of those who may chance to see them, and were not present to hear the lecture, to two important points urged by the lecturer, which should receive the deep consideration of every parent.

The first is, that parents ought to have a command over their own temper, and should never appear, when correcting a child, to be in anger,—at least so as to let the child perceive it. It is not unfrequently the case, when some fault has been committed by a child, though ever so trifling, and the innocent child, unconscious of the impropriety of what it has done, for the parent to get into a violent passion; the voice is changed to an angry tone; the countenance becomes distorted with rage, and very often vile and unbecoming language is used. Let any one reflect on such conduct in a parent, and they cannot but be convinced that it is wrong. This most frequently has, instead of a good, an evil effect,—for children are more apt to imitate bad than good examples. That same rageful spirit and authoritative manner will be manifested by a child with its toys, and even towards its playmates, when they do not exactly please, as it has learned from the manner and conduct of its parent towards itself. Such a disposition will grow with the growth of a child, unless counteracted by the right cultivation of the mind. This then is a matter that should be well considered by parents.

The second point is, that parents too frequently disagree about the manner in which they should correct their children, and each pursues a contrary course. Reason ought to dictate to them, that this is wrong, and particularly wrong for their children to know of such disagreement. It has an injurious effect upon children, because they are incapable of

deciding who is in the right; and therefore unable to know which they must obey.

Finally, I would say to parents, that there is nothing whatsoever they should be more careful in, than the good bringing up of their children; give them a good education, and show them proper examples, and they will not, in the end, have to reproach themselves for the precepts that they have shown them.

Let every parent learn this maxim, "that no man ought to expect to reap good wheat, if he hath not sown good seed; nor gather good fruit of his trees, if he had not care at the beginning to dress them well, and to graft them with good scions afterwards."

AMANA.

Philadelphia, Jan. 29, 1839.

For the National Reformer.

TO WISDOM'S INSTITUTE, AT TROY.

EPISTLE II.

My Dear Sisters,—The topic discussed in my first letter naturally produces this interrogation:—

What is useful knowledge?

A very important one, indeed, which we shall make an effort to answer. It is not a simple, but a compound thing, made up of different elements. And what are these? Are they beautiful extracts of history, elegant scraps of poetry, and enchanting recollections of romantic tales? No, no. These may constitute some of the ornamental appendages of useful knowledge, but not the energetic, productive principle. What, then, is useful knowledge? It is that, which will qualify you to instruct the ignorant members of the community in which you live; so as to make them intelligent, virtuous, and respectable. Its constituent elements may or may not embrace every branch of science; natural, physical, intellectual and moral. But do I mean by this definition to convey the idea, that you never will be in the possession of useful knowledge, until you have attained unto every branch of science, embraced in these several departments of truth? Nay, I do not mean to convey any such idea. For you may acquire a large and respectable amount of useful knowledge, without knowing all to which I have alluded. But my object in giving such a general definition is to raise an elevated standard, that your efforts may be in proportion to its height. For let it be remembered that if the standard unto which you would reach be high, your efforts will be proportionably great, but if the standard be low your efforts will be comparatively small.

The truth of this is exemplified in the daily conduct of hundreds around you; many of whom desire no knowledge, therefore they make no efforts to acquire knowledge, and live more like brutes than like men, immortal men! For these are content to sleep and awake, to lie down and to rise up, to eat and drink, like brutes! The minds, the heaven-wrought deathless minds within them, are left to ignorance and concomitant vices, like a howling wilderness to every species of noxious reptiles. Others desire nothing but the current fooleries which are published in the comic papers of the day, therefore they read no other periodicals. And others desire no other kind of knowledge than the general news, therefore they read nothing but newspapers. But those who desire to, and will be a blessing to the world and an honor to the God who made them, labor to attain unto great things, therefore they lay hold of sciences and study them diligently, rigidly, unceasingly, until their minds are as rich with useful knowledge as are the mines of Peru with gold, or those of Guinea with diamonds. And thus if it were in my power I would have yours, nor yours alone, but also the minds of all my kinswomen according to the flesh. And as the magnanimous Moses once said, he wished that all the Lord's people were prophets, so do I earnestly desire that all my brethren were scholars. But to return to the point under consideration. A combination of adverse circumstances will ever render it impossible for all of you to acquire all of the sciences alluded to; but there are many of them which you may and ought to acquire. And to these I desire to call your immediate attention, because they are the most common and in your peculiar circumstance the most necessary.

The first then, are Grammar, Composition, Geography, Geology and Arithmetic. After these have been acquired, you ought to add Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Logic, History, Sacred, Profane, and Natural Logic, Intellectual Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Natural and Revealed Theology. Now don't be startled at this array of sciences, and declare before hand that they are too difficult and numerous to be learned; for they are all within your reach; you can learn them if you will. Only let your motto be: "Whatever man has done, man can do." And do not believe those who tell you that you cannot learn these branches of useful knowledge, without spending years in Mrs. Williard's Seminary or some other of equal note.

It is the belief of a sentiment like this, which has paralyzed the efforts and stunned the minds

of thousands of colored persons in this country. I assure you if every colored man and woman waits until they can enter some College or Seminary before they will strive to acquire a knowledge of the above mentioned sciences, they will live and die ignorant of them. You know that the Seminary in your city is closed against you, and that your circumstances will not permit you to go to Clinton or Oberlin, and you are also convinced by my first letter that you ought to know the things mentioned in this. What then is to be done?

Will you do as thousands of our people have done and are still doing in every section of our country, fold up your hands and sit down in ignorance, because you cannot get into a Seminary or a College! O dash such an idea to the four winds of heaven! Let the very thought perish even before it is born. Such an idea, such a thought, is too mean for the bosom of a slave!

What, has the cruel, wicked, hellish prejudice against you, destroyed the heaven-constructed intellects of your minds? Have the minds which were fashioned by the fingers of Jehovah, been paralyzed by the Spirit of Oppression?

No, no! you reply. Then awake their energies and set to work. Purchase the necessary books; and as Solomon did, do you; pray to the God of Wisdom for the full developement of your mental powers; meanwhile seek all the aid you can. If you can find one generous, educated spirit in your city, though it be the spirit of a child, seek its aid; but if not, don't despair. But study them yourselves diligently, rigidly, unceasingly, and your efforts will not be in vain.

Yours, affectionately,

ORIGEN.

Carlisle, (Pa.) Jan. 23, 1839.

"ONWARD, RIGHT ONWARD."

We are pleased to insert the Constitution of the Philadelphia Moral Reform Society. The principles it sets forth are invulnerable, and ought to claim the admiration of every friend of republican equality. Let us labor to extinguish the spirit of caste that exists among us, and we shall soon be united and happy. We also insert with pleasure the Constitution of the Cranberry Moral Reform Society. We regard it not less pure in its object, even though it be more specific in its character. We copy it from the "Colored American," the editors of which introduce it with a favorable comment, from which we extract

the following, as it appears particularly designed for our notice. "We are happy to find that our Cranberry brethren are not afraid of being definite in the object of their association, (Article 2,) though they are auxiliary to the American Moral Reform Society. We go *unhesitatingly* with Augustine—"moral work for colored men."

We are happy to inform you, gentlemen, that we are not afraid of being either definite in our *object*, or our *action*. What we most fear is that we may violate moral principle by using language that will convey invidious and selfish distinctions; and thus place ourselves on the side of the advocates of "caste." If you go *unhesitatingly* with Augustine—"moral works for colored men"—we go much farther; we go for "moral works for all men." And we as *unhesitatingly* tell you, that neither the doctrines of Augustine, nor those of any other man or body of men whose object is to bring the standard of "human responsibility" below the divine command, "love your neighbour as yourself," can move us from our position. "Moral works for colored men" has already been the basis of limited private correspondence between us and Augustine. Although it was conducted on our part without the remotest intention of publication, we are perfect willing for Augustine to lay the same before the readers of the "Colored American." We have no disposition to conceal our views from the public mind. We do not dread their scrutiny, and therefore we are "not afraid of being definite in the object" of our society. Nay, we will go still further; standing on the firm grounds of moral principle, we are opposed to the principle on which every existing institution is based, whether for the promotion religion, morality, or civil government, that makes complexion a qualification of membership. No matter whether they have been formed by *white* or *colored* men, we assert that they are anti-christian, anti-moral, and anti-republican in their organization. And we call on our brethren throughout the country, if they desire to make a successful appeal for the abolition of complexional distinctions, to first throw up

their African Charters. Tear down your complexional barriers, and cast them from you, for they are wicked and heinous. Open your churches and schools to all that bring forth the requisite qualifications, and you will make an important step that will place you far in the advance of your persecutors. For our own part we do not now belong to a single institution that is based on the proscriptive title, and we never intend to be connected with such an one. If we were, it should be our pride to be foremost in petitioning the legislature for an alteration of its Charter. We have now, in publishing five numbers of our periodical, set forth our principles. It was asserted in the beginning that one of our objects was to oppose the interest of the "Colored American;" another to spend our efforts in promoting the interests of white men, and neglect those of our own complexion. How far these predictions have been fulfilled, we leave our readers and friend Cornish to be the judges. We admit that our principles cover an infinity of space, but that proves no detriment to their local application. It impresses us the more strongly with the duty of first applying those principles, (among those with whom we are identified by complexion, by suffering and by wrong,) by which we hope to operate on the minds of those that oppress us. While in the exercise of our duty we often expect to bring down the maledictions of our brethren upon us; but that will not deter us from our purpose. If offences arise, they shall flow from the maintenance of the principles we support. As we have no personal ambition to gratify, we shall strike no personal blows; nor reply to personal allusions. Our course shall be right onward. We repeat, let the following questions be discussed in every lyceum, debating society, social circle, family and fireside. First, "Is it *morally* right for either white or colored men to organize institutions for the promotion of religion, morality, or civil government, founded on complexional distinction? Second, Ought those in existence to be maintained in their present form, or altered." On the decision of these questions hang the future

operations of our people. Will the editors of the "Colored American" copy this article?

From the Colored American.

CRANBERRY MORAL REFORM SOCIETY.

This Society was formed for the purpose of aiding in the accomplishment of a moral reform of the colored people of this neighborhood. It includes all our most respectable and intelligent citizens; and it is hoped, with the blessing of Divine Providence, it will prove a powerful auxiliary to the moral elevation of our race. Its first annual meeting was held in the village of Cranberry, on the second Tuesday in March, 1837; at which time the following Board of Officers were elected for the ensuing year:

FRANCIS STRYKER, President.

EDWARD DITMUS, } Vice Presidents.

CÆSAR HIGGINS, }

RICHARD VALENTINE, Cor. Secretary.

LEWIS F. DITMUS, Rec. Secretary.

GEORGE TINDEL, Treasurer.

Committee.—Joseph Hawkins, John Douglass, Aaron B. Beard, Peter Merrill, John Nafus, Joseph Handley, Hezekiah Lloyd, Rich. Onquee.

CONSTITUTION.

Article 1. This Society shall be styled the "Moral Reform Society of Cranberry," and shall be auxiliary to the American Moral Reform Society.

Art. 2. The object of this Society shall be, the moral reformation of the people of color of Cranberry; first, by giving, so far as lies in our power, the rising generation a good education, and instructing them in some useful occupation; second, by the general diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of adult persons; third, by promoting among us the moral virtues of the Christian graces, and the refinements of civilized life.

Art. 3. All persons who will pledge themselves to practice and sustain the general principles of moral reform, as contained in this Constitution, and advocated in our country, may become members of this Society.

Art. 4. The Officers of this Society shall be, a President, two Vice Presidents, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, and seven managers.

Art. 5. The annual meeting of this Society shall be held on the second Tuesday in March, when the Annual Report shall be made, and Officers elected, and there shall be elected, also, a standing committee of twelve females.

Art. 6. Any person violating the principles of this Society shall be disqualified for mem-

bership, and shall be disposed of according to the decision of a majority of the members present, at its quarterly meeting, which shall be held on the second Tuesday of March, June, September, and December.

Art. 7. The funds for the use of this Society shall be kept with its members; and the Constitution may be altered by a vote of a majority of the members present, at its annual meeting, so as to keep pace with the great object of moral reform.

For the National Reformer.

PHILADELPHIA CITY MORAL REFORM SOCIETY.

At a special meeting of the Philadelphia City Moral Reform Society, held at "Salters' Rooms," Feb. 12th, 1839,—Thomas Butler, Vice President, in the chair—it was, on motion,

Resolved, That the report of the Committee upon the Constitution be adopted.

And it was also voted, That committees of three persons be appointed, conformable to Article 3 of the Constitution, to carry out the cardinal principles of the Society; whereupon Messrs. Rev. Chas. Gardiner, Thos. Butler, and Robert Purvis, were appointed on Temperance; Messrs. Robt. Purvis, Ralph Smith, and Jas. M. White, on Economy; Messrs. Laurin M. Peck, E. H. Coates, and Daniel Colley, on Education; and Messrs. J. C. White, J. P. Burr, and N. B. Depee, on Universal Liberty.

Resolved, That the proffered services of Mr. L. M. Peck, to deliver an address at the coming anniversary of the Society, be accepted.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the National Reformer.

Adjourned.

N. B. DEPEE, Secretary.

For the National Reformer.

THE PHILADELPHIA CITY MORAL REFORM SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded *them* to live together in the "spirit of unity," and a common brotherhood—and whereas the present constituted state of society exhibits a fatal departure from first principles, a degeneracy of morals, and a disregard of the principles of right and justice, implanted in the human mind by the great author of our being, therefore, we, the subscribers, citizens of Philadel-

phia, deeply lamenting the existing evils which we are subjected to, as an integral portion of the community; and being desirous to aid in promoting both public and private virtue, the cause of sound morals, and healthful public sentiment, for the promotion of our general welfare, do agree to form ourselves into a Society, to be governed by the declaration of sentiment of the American Moral Reform Society, and the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the Philadelphia Moral Reform Society.

Section 1. This Society shall be auxiliary to the American Moral Reform Society.

ARTICLE II.

Any person, male or female, may become a member of this Society, who shall pledge themselves to practice and sustain the general principles of *moral reform*, especially those of *education, temperance, economy, and universal liberty*, by contributing to its objects.

Section 1. This Society is based on the principles of republican equality, and will never countenance the "spirit of caste," by the preferment of honors on account of complexional variations.

ARTICLE III.

The officers of this Society shall consist of one president, three vice-presidents, a corresponding and recording secretary, a treasurer, and a board of managers, consisting of seven persons.

Section 1. A committee, consisting of three persons, may be appointed whenever the Society may deem proper, to carry out each of the cardinal principles of this Society.

ARTICLE IV.

This Society shall hold its annual meeting on the first Monday in April.

Section 1. This Society shall hold quarterly meetings on the first Monday of February, May, August, and November.

ARTICLE V.

The Treasurer shall, for the faithful performance of the trust reposed in him, give a bond with sureties to the board of managers, in the name of the Society, in such a sum as they shall from time to time require; he shall pay all orders of the Society, and of the board of managers, when signed by the president of the Society, and chairman of the board of managers; and annually, or oftener if required, lay before the board of managers a true statement of the funds, which, after being examined by them, shall be produced to the Society, at their stated meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

The president shall call a special meeting of the Society, when five members concur in requesting it.

ARTICLE VII.

No alteration or amendment shall be made to this Constitution, unless the same be proposed at a previous meeting, and be adopted by a concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

CAUTION.

We entreat our brethren throughout the country not to rejoice over the seeming severity that we have treated our city friends in the present number. Let us rather lament that there was a necessity for such a theme. Our opponents have charged us with being destitute of the "organ of locality," because we were not more definite in our limits. We hope they will now withdraw their accusation. If the cords of friendship and social intercourse will not deter us from expressing our disapprobation of measures, that are diametrically opposed to the principles of right and justice, surely our more distant friends have a just right to expect that, in the discharge of our duties, we shall be impartial.

We assert it as our belief, that the course pursued by the vestry of "St. Thomas's Church," would be practised by one-half the *Colored Churches* throughout the free States, if an anti-slavery lecturer was to apply for the use of them, to plead the cause of the slave. Nor is it because they "hate slavery the less," but because they are more imbued with a spirit of selfishness, "that they love themselves the more." They do not look upon their "brethren in bonds, as being bound with them." The *fear of mobs* is their fatal excuse, *i. e.* their governing principle. It has dethroned their reason, and palsied their energy in promoting righteousness and justice. It has added to their "bodily cords," mental enslavement. Their fear of God has yielded to the will of man, yea, even to the worst dictates of a perverse public sentiment. The spirit of mobocracy has accomplished its purpose, when it has hushed the voice of the friends of freedom into silence. Show us the man that is afraid to publicly assert his senti-

ments on the subject of human freedom, and we will point you to a *slave*. We ought to rejoice to have the privilege of opening our houses of public worship for the advocates of freedom to detail the wrongs and sufferings of the slave. Their eloquent pleadings cannot contaminate those "sacred walls." But says one, those "demons incarnate" that stand without, will break the windows, and probably demolish the building. Grant it, and what then? Is it not far better that a few bricks and mortar shall be displaced, than that Christians should desert the cause of the slave? Suppose the "mobocrats" were to raze our churches and public buildings to the ground, they will then have accomplished but little in comparison to their awing us into silence. Let us, if we have the means, erect others on their ruins, not less worthy of the object for which they were destroyed. If we are unable to do this, we still have a remedy, "the same in all times, and all ages." We can all appeal to one common *Father*, the righteous Judge of all the earth, and beseech Him to check the onward progress of the wicked, and give us an abiding faith, willing hands, and clean hearts, wherever we may erect living temples that cannot be invaded by mobs, stunned by persecution, or overthrown by the storms of time, but stand forth as monuments unawed by the "wreck of matter and the crush of worlds." We assert that those churches that are shut from the pleadings and sympathies of the slave, are unworthy the patronage of the Christian public, and are alike unfit, as earthly tenements, to have the gospel of *Him* proclaimed therein, who declared he was "no respecter of persons." If we desire to be a *free people*, we must have *free churches*. Spiritual enslavement is the highest summit of human despotism. We are aware, that many of our friends may regret that we feel it to be our duty to attack the popular prejudices of the community, and assert that our paper cannot survive the storm that may direct its force against us. Our reply is that if the *National Reformer* cannot live in the affections of freemen, it shall not expire in the folds of slavery.

"PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY OF COLORED PERSONS."

This institution has been established for several years, and is generally known by strangers that visit our city. The library contains several hundreds of books, many of which are of rare and valuable worth. There is a debating society in connexion with it, where in the fall and winter season of the year the members assemble once a week for public discussion. The debates have generally been interesting, the audience large and intelligent. The debates have been conducted with order and decorum. We have often been delighted with the talent displayed on those occasions—the historical research, the wit, eloquence and polemic tact of the disputants. The company was incorporated about two years since. On the first inst. they held their fifth anniversary in the second African Presbyterian church in St. Mary street. The annual address was delivered by a member of the society, two extracts from which we insert in the present number. We were anxious to publish it entire but we could not obtain the author's consent. The company have passed a resolution to publish it. We have perused its pages with delight. It is thorough on the subject of *moral reform*, truly eloquent and high toned throughout. The author strikes a deadly blow against colonization, slavery and sectarianism. If the nation's voice could be once brought to re-echo the sentiments of the author, colonization and slavery could not survive a single hour. If there be those that feel that he has dealt too severely with the Episcopal church, let the following explanation suffice.

The "Company" on all former occasions have obtained "St. Thomas Episcopal church" for the delivery of their anniversary address, and in pursuance of their former custom the committee of arrangements applied to the vestry of said church for the use of the house on the present occasion, and received the following answer. We copy the resolution *verbatim*. "At a meeting of St. Thomas church vestry, held on Wednesday, Nov. 19, 1838, on motion, it was resolved: That the

church be granted to the "Library Company" on January 1st, 1839, to deliver their annual address, provided the speaker does not involve the question of *Abolition or Colonization*—and farther, that the granting of the church is obtained by the rector."

Such, gentle reader, is the true history of this dictatorial assault on the freedom of speech by the "vestry of St. Thomas' African church." Ponder over it. If your indignation has been aroused at the conduct of the "northern slave, Atherton," in Congress, open your bowels of compassion for that deluded victim of avarice and slaveholding cupidity; and extend your condemnation to the act of the more *guilty vestry*. The former only threw the mantle of protection over the institution of slavery, while the latter spreads its panoply over both "*slavery and colonization*." The former is, by constitutional rights and citizenship, one of the lords of the soil, and by principle and complexional affinity in league with the "robbers of God's poor," while the latter are, in the sight of colonizationists, a guilty excrescence, a "perfect nuisance," unfit to possess an abiding place in this land, and are by oppression, complexion, and degradation, identified with the tattered and downtrodden slave. The object of the former, while acting under a constitution that tolerated slavery, was to keep the discussion of the "delicate question" out of the Halls of Congress, while the latter, professing to abhor both slavery and colonization, and for the most part claiming to be actuated by the principles of right and justice, as "written by the finger of God on the hearts of all men," decide that neither colonization or slavery shall be incidentally discussed in St. Thomas' church. We are glad to state that the decision of the "vestry" forms no part of the Ecclesiastical proceeding of the church. But we shall not fail to state, that we have been informed, that church members in good standing both sanctioned and vindicated the adoption of said resolution. Such is the predicament in which the "Library Company" and the speaker were placed by the resolution of the vestry. To have acceded to their proposal, would have degraded them as freemen,

while the latter would have been rendered a voluntary slave, "fitted only for the galling yoke." That the reader may correctly understand how far the speaker was prepared to yield to the despotic commands of the vestry, we ask you to carefully peruse the eloquent extracts we have published from his address. The "Company" was obliged to seek elsewhere for the liberty they were denied in St. Thomas' church. And the speaker was perfectly correct in directing the attention of the audience to the new difficulties they had to encounter. We owe it to the public to state, that the minority of the "vestry" that opposed the resolution, and the majority of the congregation, unequivocally condemn the proceedings of the vestry, and that active measures will be used at the next election for "vestrymen" to supplant them with men that will not "basely bow the knee to either the spirit of slavery or colonization." In making these remarks we have been governed by no ill will. We believe them all to be our personal friends, whom we have long acted with in public affairs. We feel as much attached to you now though residing at a distance of eighty-two miles, as when we resided among you. Neither time nor distance has erased a single bright spot from our memory. We know our interests to be inseparable. In this last fatal public act we charge you with having violated the principles of your former faith and practice, and struck a serious blow against the cause we all profess to love and admire. We do not question your right to deny the use of the church when you see proper, but we solemnly protest against your inserting the conditions you have specified in the resolution. Its tendency is to crush the freedom of speech on two subjects the most deeply connected with our welfare; while its spirit ejects forth an effluvia that smells from the stench of despotism. If we have done you injustice, (which Heaven forbid,) our columns are open for your defence.

"One of the greatest foes to liberty and the rights of man in this country, is that spirit engendered by the influence of those abominable principles, which the American Colonization Society has adopted; and by its unprin-

ciplered hirelings unceasingly propagated in all its varied and hellish adaptations to Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western morbidity, voraciousness and gluttony. It is the spirit of hate—deep and deadly hate towards ourselves, as well as to our less favored brethren in the South; and never may we expect to obtain and enjoy that full freedom and equality of rights, so long as there remains a hope in the heart of despotism that we will, either by sanctimonious bribes or by threats of violent expulsion, consent to self-expatriation; or so long as we evidence in the smallest degree, either individually or collectively, by *vestry* enactments or otherwise, a mean, wincing, cowardly fear of discussing the principles of that institution, and setting our seal of remonstrance and reprehension on its unhallowed and nefarious designs; or so long as we betray a disposition

‘To fly from those ills we have
To those we know not of,’

whether it be to the Haytian, Canadian or Liberian colonies. It is true, in reference to the latter place, never *was* unanimity more complete, or hate more *holy*, than ours in proclaiming our sentiments against it, yet there are those who look with a favorable eye towards Canada, and some few to find out the *extent* or *ardor* of their ‘*amor patriæ*,’ have tried it for a season on the shores of Haytian despotism. These longings, experiments, &c., whether they please or disappoint, betray at least an unfixedness and inconstancy on our part, and tend very much to keep up the idea in the brain of colonization men, that some plan might yet be devised, in which our whole people would unite, and the ‘Heaven-born scheme’ of banishment and slavery-perpetuating will be effected. But to return.—Colonization, in the obstacles it presents for the spreading of free principles, is evident as being one of the most inveterate opponents to liberty. ‘Conceived in sin and brought forth in wickedness,’ his slavery crest shines resplendent in the regions of chains and prejudice. ‘Slander, the foulest whelp of sin,’ dwells on his lips to trumpet forth, and cause the vials of mobocratic wrath to be poured on the heads of those whose

‘Hue makes a brother hate
A brother mortal here,’

or on that fearless band of patriots and lovers of liberty who jointly and undauntedly advocate our rights. When that monster shall have been covered in the shades of oblivion, and none so poor as to do him reverence, then may the oppressed American, standing

in the full dignity and stature of a man, prove their intellectual and moral equality with the proudest of our oppressors; but so long as his direful influence is permitted to overawe and crush the spirit of our people—nay to entrench himself in the very altars of our churches, and fix his portentous grasp upon her portals, just so long may we expect to grope in darkness, degradation and ruin; and, oh! Heaven, shall it thus for ever be? Shall we in this age of light tamely submit, and bow our necks in slavish suppliance? Spirit of 1817, we invoke thy presence among these thy degenerate sons. Methinks that that man who now sleeps among the illustrious dead, were he again permitted to visit this world—that man whose nervous pen placed in the niche of immortality those noble, soul-inspiring sentiments, in the declaration of that ever memorable and eventful period, he would, in the indignant emotions of his heart, denounce in thunder tones the monster, as being the ‘child of Hell’—the very fountain head of corruption—a mildew and curse to the land—fattening in the destruction of immortal mind, deathless soul, human bones and blood. Methinks, too, with the finger of contempt he would point to those recreant spirits who have bowed the knee at the altar of our common enemy, and with fierce reprehension and scorching rebuke, (which, falling like hot lead upon their guilty consciences,) would make them hide in shame and confusion their diminished heads.

“Lastly. That darkness which obscures the sun of science and strews the path of literature among us with stumbling blocks, is occasioned by that more powerful than all other influences upon the destinies of man in a civilized country. It is the mighty influence of the church, which when properly and appropriately directed tends to establish every thing favorable to the principles and lawful vindication of the rights of man. But unfortunately the mantle of the church is thrown over the corruptions and guilt of this nation, fostering in her bosom the spirit of caste, and reconciling slaveholding and Christianity as being consistent with the letter and spirit of the Gospel. ‘Sabbath breaking, intemperance, licentiousness and other abominations, find their successive order in pulpit eloquence; but human slavery, prince of them all, is interdicted to clerical touch.’ Synods and presbyteries, conferences and conventions, are all concerned in this matter—all have their

‘Wolves in clothings of the lamb
And on the blood of souls, which they
Did sell, grew fat.’

"But I believe that in the Episcopal church there is more pride, prejudice and hatred towards the confessedly oppressed, than can be found among any other denomination of professing Christians in this country; the reason may be found in their *undue* proportion of ministerial robbers of God's poor; i. e. slaveholders. It is time we should throw off the intolerance of clergy domination—respecting man but for his virtues, and not for the robes he wears—not for the "pomp and circumstance" of ecclesiastical dignity. And while we hold no allegiance to men or things in contravention to the spirit of liberty or genius of republicanism—while we admit of no divisibility of the human family, but believing all men to be of one common parentage, we shall never cease to raise our voice in remonstrance against any invasion of those sacred rights, inherent in our nature and celestial in their origin. What! shall we hesitate or pause when liberty is struck down in our very temples? No! never. 'Our doubts are traitors, and make us lose the good we oft might win, by fearing to attempt.'

"In conclusion, gentlemen, I thank you for your attention. Circumstances recently transpired impressed upon my mind the belief that the address which I have made would not be unacceptable, connected as it is with the well being of our society. To-morrow, gag-law and restrictions may be imposed upon us at Sandiford Hall, (such is the danger of bad precedents,) and we be deprived of those blessed advantages which never fail to accrue from mind coming in contact with mind. If we would irradiate the road to science, the torch of liberty must burn brightly. If we would improve our intellectual condition, the mind must be free and untrammelled. Despair, 'black as the pall of death' seems resting over our destiny, but 'hope springs eternal in the human mind,' and I trust that our sun (by the recent outrage of our rights) is only obscured for a season, to burst forth in more luminous and glorious effulgence.—Tyrants may enslave the body, and lesser ones 'dressed in a little brief authority,' by their petty enactments 'play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven as to make angels weep,' but they cannot fetter the soul or mind of man."

By request we publish the following address—it appeared some time ago in the *National Enquirer*.

Address to the Colored Churches in the free states.

FATHERS, BRETHREN AND FRIENDS.—In pursuance of the duty imposed on us by the

following resolution, adopted at a special meeting of the American Moral Reform Society, held in the city of Philadelphia, in June last, we proceed to address you."

"*Resolved*, That there be a committee of three appointed, to draft an Address to the Colored Churches, requesting them to take measures to admonish their members against aiding the system of American slavery, by using the products of slave labor."

The substance on which said resolution is based, may be found in the pledge we have already given, in our address to the American people, "that we shall persuade our brethren against using the products of slave labor, both as a moral and Christian duty, and as a means by which the slave system may be successfully abrogated; and that we will appeal to the colored churches, to take decisive measures to rid themselves of the sin of slavery and immorality." The predication on which this duty is founded is, that domestic slavery, as it exists in our country, is opposed to both moral and Christian duty—the well being of man—the moral attributes of Jehovah, and consequently obstructs the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom throughout the universe. And we do aver, that the criminality attendant on the existence of American slavery is national—and that all who aid or abet this "accursed traffic" in the *bodies* and *souls* of men, by purchase, sale, or barter, in either their persons, or the products thereof—are guilty of producing all the rapine, blood, murder and cruelties, in which the system itself so much abounds. Therefore, it is both a moral and Christian duty to aid in its overthrow.

We are certainly not indifferent to the fact, that in the present organization of society, the colored people, in the free states, are deeply engaged in supporting this unrighteous commerce against the rights and liberties of their brethren at the South,—a commerce that shuts out the light of the gospel, and brutalises their fellow beings—a commerce freighted with such inhumanity, *ought not* to receive the patronage of the *Christian world*.

We are also well aware, that the colored churches are common participants in the crime, and that their ministers', deacons', and elders' voices are bound in deathly silence on a subject, that aims not only at the subjugation of millions of "immortal souls," but at the overthrow of the Christian church.

How long! we ask you as Christians, will you remain silent and inactive, when the voice of Europe, and thousands of Christians in America, are crying, onward! Is it a mat-

ter of no serious consideration to you, as individuals, and as members of the Christian church, that you are supporting, day by day, in your daily repast, a system of piracy and soul-murder, which Jehovah abhors, and over which "humanity weeps?" Can you lay your hands on your hearts, and appeal to the Father of Mercies to bless your basket and your store, while you are rewarding the oppressor for robbing "God's poor?"

Will ye longer continue to ask God, who looks upon sin without the least allowance, to bless such portions of your table necessities as may have been derived from the production of iniquity? We hope not. Is the giant sin of slavery to be winked at in the face of the command, "be ye not partakers of other men's sins?"

In making this appeal to you, we are not indifferent to the fact, that there are many difficulties to be met with, in attempting the overthrow of a system that had well nigh paralyzed the *virtue of the world*—spread its hideous mantle around the whole organization of society—and consequently became interwoven in all the customs, habits, systems, veins and arteries of the body politic.

But, let not these difficulties, nor the magnitude of the monster slavery intimidate us. Though he spread himself like a "green bay tree" over the whole forest of nature, and usher forth his effluvia to the clouds—while there is a God in heaven to rebuke, or zealous Christians on earth to confront him with the sword of truth and justice, we have nothing to fear,—for *he* must fall prostrate before the Omnipotence of "Divine Power."

To be successful, we must prosecute our labors with holiness of purpose, and with a willingness of sacrifice, commensurate with the undertaking. We only ask the sacrifice of evil practices. Slavery is chiefly upheld by "avarice and luxury." If these only be suffered to fall, they will carry the monster with them. But it is not our intention at this time to give you a dissertation on the subject of slavery; our duty is of less magnitude; and will be fulfilled, by simply submitting the doctrines contained in the resolution, for your prayerful consideration and strict examination.

We desire that the Christian church shall take cognizance of the resolution, and settle the question—not whether slavery is *sinful*, for that is already acknowledged—but whether a voluntary use of the products of slave labor is *sinful*, when tried by gospel rules. If so, we hope ministers, elders, church and people, will recognise it as such, and exercise

their noblest energies to impress its doctrines on their congregations, so that a practical abstinence may be effected. If not, let the resolution fall to the ground. Therefore we leave the resolution with the Christian and his conscience, with the hope that truth and righteousness will triumph.

It may not be inappropriate, before closing this address, to give you a few of the reasons which lead us to believe, that the doctrines contained in the resolution are founded in truth, and are consequently binding on every friend of religion, morality, and human rights.

1. We maintain that slavery is a sin; and that liberty is the inalienable birth-right of every man, given him by his Creator,—and that he who deprives a human being of this liberty, usurps the "prerogative of Jehovah."

2. Slavery is a transgression of the Divine law, "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, &c. &c.—and being of itself sinful, it is incapable of producing "any good thing." Hence, the labor of the slave having been wrested from him by injustice, we deny the right of the "MASTER," to *transfer the product of that labor*, or any one to purchase it, except the slave himself. "The system being wrong in the beginning, cannot of itself change its nature." Hence we maintain, that every individual who purchases the products of such labor from the master, becomes accessory to the guilt of robbing the slave of his just right. And it does not alter the case,—no matter how many transfers have been made of said products,—no more than right to enjoy liberty becomes alienated by the frequent transfer of the slaves through many generations. Hence we assert, that both the planter, and consumer, are maintaining a piracy on the rights of their fellow men; and *each* are guilty of the sin consequent on his degradation. Awake! awake then to righteousness: pray let this sin no longer be laid to your charge. You have so long stood back in the cause of temperance, that the voice of those that were once ready to perish by the intoxicating draught, are now found ushering forth their anthems against you. And if you will longer, by your inactivity, silence, and guilty acquiescence in the sin of American slavery, be found protracting the period of joyful deliverance to the slaves,—the prayers of the oppressed will ascend up to Jehovah's throne, and then invoke upon you the wrath of an avenging God! If you would reclaim the abandoned—check the guilty—instruct the ignorant—warn the unwary—give light to the blind—stop the progress of iniquity in

all its various channels—encourage the despondent—increase the faith of the doubting—enlarge the views of all who profess to know and to love the Lord—and, finally, if you desire to see the people of this world become the people of our Lord and his Christ, you must not only keep pace with all the moral and Christian enterprises of this age—but you must raise your banner as high as God's truth, and as broad as his love.

We are aware that there may be many existing apologies, with regard to the action of colored churches on the subject of slavery; but we deny that they have any rightful being. It may be said that they are for the most part, but subordinate bodies, and should necessarily wait for the action of the great bodies, with whom they are connected, and then follow in the train. This we deny; because it is impossible to find scriptural authority for a moment's delay in "doing good." And besides, while they are guided by the truths of divine revelation, they have as good a right to *lead* as to be *led*. When the voice of God commands us to "remember those that are in bonds, as bound with them," we should do it *now*, without waiting the approval of Ecclesiastical Conventions, General Assemblies, Presbyteries, Synods, Conferences, or any body of men on earth, no matter how enlightened. Besides, the American church is so polluted with the spirit of slavery, that the colored churches are already enslaved; and are either denied the rights and privileges of church members, or the social privileges of Christian fellowship. And the sooner some exertions are made to extirpate this evil spirit from the Christian churches, the sooner we may expect to see those that profess to be born of God, practising the command, "love one another." There may be those that desire to be excused, because they say that colored people can do nothing to bring about an emancipation of the slaves, as they have no voice in government. Well, but slavery is a spiritual, and moral, as well as a political evil. Cannot we pray and preach against oppression?—Cannot we join the many thousands of our fellow citizens, who are sending up petitions to Heaven for their deliverance? Can we not aid in overthrowing the immoralities that uphold slavery, without which it would have long since fallen? Surely you have both a moral, and religious influence. Then why not exert it? The poor slave needs all our aid. These *moral* and Christian duties will be required from all; and it will be of little use, when we appear before Jeho-

vah's throne, to plead in palliation of our negligence that we are *colored*.

Though the church, the world, and the government under which you live, may excuse you, God, (who makes no distinction in complexion,) bids you "cry aloud and spare not."

What! have the free colored people nothing to do with slavery, while 2,500,000 of their brethren are writhing under its galling chains? Nothing to do with slavery, when there are at this time about 400,000 free people of color in these United States, ninety-nine hundredths of whom are upholding the system every day, by purchasing the products thereof? Of these about 150,000 live in the free states; which, to use the lowest average term, spend ten dollars a year, in the purchase of slave cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar and molasses,—which amounts to \$1,500,000 annually,—and at a rate of ten per cent. would place in the coffers of the slaveholders a nett profit of \$150,000 annually. And is this doing nothing for the support of slavery? Can the colored churches wink at this? Is it nothing to us, that the system of slavery has so corrupted the commerce of the country, that the whole free colored population are made by its operations to contribute near half a million annually to its support. Nothing to do with slavery! while there are free colored men that are such "devils incarnate" as to betray and sell their brethren into slavery who have escaped from their cruel oppressors!

There have been many illustrious instances of sacrifices by the advocates of liberty, in past ages, that were altogether unconnected with religious principles, and that have been nobly sustained, although they required much greater deprivations of the comforts of life than any we are called upon to sustain. In support of this remark, we have only to look back to the memorable history of the *tea tax*, that ended in establishing the independence of this country.

We might go on, and multiply facts upon facts, arguments upon arguments, and successfully prove that we all are verily guilty—"that our brother's blood is upon us"—that it is our duty to hasten to a speedy repentance; "live unto righteousness; cease to do evil and learn to do well;" and take immediate measures to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of such products as are purchased with the tears, blood, and sweat of the unrewarded toil of the poor slave, lest the visitation of an Almighty hand bring down upon us the retribution of divine Justice.

Published by the Board of Managers of the American Moral Reform Society.

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JOSHUA BROWN,

S. H. GLOUCESTER, *Secretary*.

N. B. Editors, friendly to the object of this Address, are requested to give it an insertion.

"PHILADELPHIA READING ROOM."

We were pleased when we discovered that our enterprising friend, S. H. Gloucester, had opened this useful and commodious establishment in a part of the city where it was convenient for our people to attend. It was tolerably patronized at first, but have discovered of late that it is almost deserted. This we feared from the first. As every people foster best the institutions they love, we felt determined to find out in what direction the patronage of the young men were directed. In the company of a friend we proceeded up Lombard street to Seventh, there we found two or three eating-houses (groceries for aught we know) in full bloom, in the highest state of prosperity, filled with young men. We pay but casual visits to the city, and may doubtless be somewhat dissatisfied in our estimate. But from appearances our conclusion is, that vice is on its onward march into the interior of the city. The corner of Seventh and Lombard streets have quite been altered in the last few years. Those public Halls that have been purchased by beneficial societies for the purpose of accommodating their own interests and the public luxury, have contributed much to render that part of the city a nuisance. They have already been the means of inflicting more poverty and vice than they can cure. Better far the money had have been thrown in the Delaware. Where the people generally collect, there public houses best thrive, and where they thrive, the happiness of the community is destroyed. We are able thus to account for the decline of patronage to Mr. Gloucester's reading room on account of the success that has attended those haunts of corruption. If we would establish and perpetuate useful institutions,

we must first make war on those infected districts. Let public opinion frown on them, until they retreat backwards, until they become wholly annihilated. Will not some of our friends that reside in the city furnish our paper with some useful statistics on this subject?

HUMANOLGY.

The science of phrenology appears to be acquiring strength, and winning for itself numerous advocates and admirers. We are informed that some of the distinguished lecturers are busily engaged in discussing national peculiarities, and pretend to tell the superiority of the one over the other. This will doubtless overturn Thomas Jefferson's "rhetorical flourish" about natural equality. We desire to call the attention of some of the learned phrenologists to the heading of this article, so they may be able to cultivate a new science, and tell us what organs a man ought to have to render him a slave. We are anxious to understand what agency the Almighty had in forming American slavery.

TO AUXILIARIES.

Friends, we desire that you will send on your constitutions so that they may be inserted in our columns. There are many places where there are societies that we should be glad to hear from.

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.

New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.

New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.

" *Burlington*—Robert Taylor.

Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.

" *Columbia*—Stephen Smith.

" *Harrisburg*—Junius C. Morell.

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NATIONAL REFORMER.

GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 6.

PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY, 1839.

VOL. I.

CONVENTION.

THE subject of a "general Convention" has claimed the attention of many of our most reflecting minds. Several writers in the "Colored American," during the past year, have dilated on this subject. Numerous have been the propositions, as to the time and place it should be held, as well as the subjects that should embrace its attention. There is one point in which nearly all agree, that it ought to meet next-summer. Now, if it will not be considered as an intrusion on the public mind, we shall endeavor to state our views upon it. It has been our privilege to be a member of all our former conventions; and we have also met our brethren in annual meetings every year since 1829. We deem it one of our highest privileges, and we hope to continue the practice. There is always a refreshing draught to be obtained from the collision of mind with mind, that lasts the whole year. The peculiarity of our situation leads the current of our thoughts into many channels, with the hope that we may devise some new method to procure our elevation. When we meet in convention we severally bring with us our peculiar habits of life, our different degrees of education, our prejudices in favor of this or that measure, so that often our dialects are so different we can scarcely understand each other. And it would appear to an observing mind that if any valuable object was to be attained, it would be necessary for the convention to be in session for three or four months. This cannot be done, for the circumstances of our people forbid it. What then? Shall we not meet annually to sustain some measures for the improvement of our condition? We reply, most certainly! The man that desires to study the character of our people ought to be careful not to suffer a single year to pass without attending an annual meeting where our people are represented from

different portions of our country. If he neglects this golden opportunity, he can never keep pace with public sentiment. He should observe the movements of such a body with the same solicitude that the shipwrecked mariner contemplates the appearance of a distant shore. It is the great *sundial*, that directs us as true as a clock marks the progress of time; the onward march of our people in knowledge and virtue.

Now the great business appears to be to prepare for said meeting so that much may be done in a short period. In order that we may succeed in this, we must maintain some general principles, and circulate them through the medium of the press; so that we may begin first to think alike at home, and then when we meet abroad, we will soon be able to agree on some general measures to promote those principles.

We perfectly agree with the "Colored American" in the following extract: that "such is our condition, such the stake that hangs on our conduct. The general rule which we must follow in every attempt to improve our prospects is, that *as we are struggling for principle, so we must act on principle*. All sectional jealousy, complexional prejudices, and vindictive feelings must yield to the one great object, the progress of truth and the triumph of liberty." Now we will inform our readers that SUCH A CONVENTION will be held in the city of Philadelphia on the second week in August next, where you are most respectfully invited to attend. It is no more nor less than the annual meeting of the "American Moral Reform Society." The great cardinal principles it sets forth are the promotion of *Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal liberty*. We presume these subjects are of sufficient magnitude and importance to enlist your attention and claim your support. If there should be those whose

prolific minds leads them to maintain a more exalted standard of duty and action, we doubt not but their gratification will be enhanced by the association of kindred spirits, that will stand ready to second every righteous effort for our speedy elevation. We hope this subject will claim the attention of our whole people. It would form a delightful theme for the eloquence of our Hintons, Wrights, Smiths, Cornishes, Raymonds, and Augustines. We feel a holy reverence for the past labors of those that are now enrolled amongst the "*mighty dead*," for their continued efforts to promote our condition. The names of Hamilton, a Sipkins, and a Parrot are indelibly printed on our memories. Will posterity expect a less legacy from us, than that which we have received from our fathers—the rich bequest of a noble example?

THE INFLUENCE OF EARLY EDUCATION.

An "ancient sage" once remarked, "bring up a child in the way he should walk, and when he is old he will not depart from it." We have been led to notice this subject from a late perusal of a book entitled "*The history of the New York AFRICAN FREE SCHOOLS*," by CHARLES C. ANDREWS, teacher of the male school. We there observe that the earliest impulse of the juvenile minds of the pupils were directed to the condition of the "African race." In their public addresses, they were particularly careful to introduce themselves as the "descendants of Africa." They solicited the public sympathy on account of their degraded condition, (not as out-cast and oppressed Americans,) but as "descendants of the African race." It is not our intention to cast censure on the early efforts of their aspiring genius—nor to subtract a single iota from the character of those liberal and benevolent philanthropists that founded and fostered said institution. Their object was truly noble, gratifying, and important, and the result has proved it to be an undertaking of the highest magnitude and most exalted philanthropy. Their brightest anticipations have been more than realized in the character and conduct of

the pupils, many of whom are now on the active theatre of manhood, adorning society with their private and public virtues, and are constantly giving energy, tone, and feeling to the religious and moral enterprises of the age, while a few may be justly ranked with the distinguished American scholars. But we regret to observe that many of these already distinguished men, carry with them those distinctive characteristics into every field of labor, that formed the fatal bias of their early impressions. They were educated in *distinction*, and constantly keep the "*banner of distinction*" waving over their heads. We do not desire them to abate their sympathy for "poor, bleeding Africa;" we would not extract a single drop of sympathetic blood from their veins. But while we bestow on Africa all the honor which is justly due to her past and present character, let us not forget to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, &c." We have been born and reared in America,—to her we owe every thing. Here is the field of our earliest affections—here our infantile minds grasped the first rudiments of knowledge—here are all our general and local interests implanted—here let us cherish and sustain them, as the seeds of national honor, until they bud, blossom, and bring forth fruit that will make our country renowned in the eyes of civilized nations, and render the name of America imperishable.

We here enter our humble protest against this educational bias on the minds of youth. It ought not to be permitted in any of our schools. It is a kind of instruction that ought never to have been inculcated. It forms the very basis of the national prejudice that is so inimical to our interests and happiness.

It is hard to be extracted when once implanted. We have been swayed by its "iron sceptre," and now we are truly thankful we have become "emancipated" from its baneful influence. We can now look upon "man as man," independent of all complexional considerations. We believe that the above remarks will be found equally applicable to the term "colored" as "African." The effect of both is to render a divisibility in the inter-

ests of native born Americans, that ought not to exist. How appropriate is the language of the late Wm. Hamilton on this subject: "How lamentable, how very lamentable it is that there should be, any where on earth a community of castes, with separate interests. That society must be the most happy, where the good of the one is the common good of the whole. Civilization is not perfect, nor has reason full sway, until the community shall see that a wrong done to one is a wrong done to the whole; that the interest of one is, or ought to be, the common interest of the whole. Surely that must be a happy state of society, where the sympathies of all are to all alike."

MIRROR OF LIBERTY.

We have now before us the January No. of this interesting periodical. On almost every page we observe "David" directing his sling against the great Goliath of slavery. It is impossible for a candid and unprejudiced reader to arise from a perusal of its pages, and not feel electrified with sympathy for the man that has encountered so many dangers and difficulties to redeem his fellow beings from the jaws of slavery. If he finds no other earthly reward, he ought at least to receive the gratitude of the friends of freedom, and the grateful benedictions of all whom he has been instrumental in rescuing from bondage.

After passing a favorable eulogium on the National Reformer, he says, "while we go for moral reform in theory and practice, we hope that the word *moral* will be abrogated from the society of which this Journal is the organ, that the society and convention may be hereafter known as the Reform Convention." Friend David you have missed it for once. "Reform Convention" is a very unpopular name in this state. It committed suicide on our rights, during the past year, by disfranchising us. The reason of this was that it was destitute of *moral principle*, or at least moral principle and humanity were in the minority. We much need this *moral term*, as a landmark, not only to direct us forward, but to keep us from trampling on the rights of others.

It is the very salvation of our enterprise, the corner stone of the temple of universal freedom and eternal justice. Withdraw it, and we shall fall at once into the labyrinths of that government, the corner stone of which, according to George McDuffie, is "negro slavery." We must hold to our present *moral* position, if we hope for a successful conflict with our physical enemies.

THE PRESS.

The necessity of sustaining the press for the promotion of any combined system of action, cannot be too highly appreciated. It is the most powerful auxiliary in awakening the public mind to a just sense of the objects and principles we maintain. It is by its power (more than any other) we can defend ourselves from the infuriated assaults of enemies, and the intrigues of false friends. The power of the press is so universally felt and acknowledged, that it needs from us no feeble eulogy. If we would accelerate the cause of moral reform, we must all do our duty. Both *agents* and *presses* must be active, or our exertions will never be crowned with success. The world must know what is going on among us, and what we are doing. It is as much our duty to soften the asperity that is "grinding us to powder," (practised by our *fairer brethren*,) as it is to elevate our present condition.

It may be said by some that this can better be done by those presses that are already engaged in promoting our cause. To this assertion we reply in the negative: The cause they maintain is virtually *our* cause, no less than their own—the cause of truth—of justice—of American liberty, and bleeding humanity. But the part that we can most successfully perform they cannot fill. The national prejudice has so complexionally separated the interests of the people of this nation, that when those of opposite complexions meet each other, it is for the most part under a mask, (like courtiers,) so that it is next to impossible, generally speaking, to divine their real meaning and intent. Therefore, they know neither the extent of our virtues, or vices; and consequently they cannot reward unknown merit,

or rebuke unknown crime. They only know the extent of our privations, suffering, and oppression, which they are constantly laboring ardently and abundantly to remove. And if they actually understood our whole position, they might actually be in dread to speak or write with that liberality that justice requires, lest we should only consider them as a new class of enemies. Besides, they are already actively engaged in a cause that employs their whole energies and fills their entire sheets. And further, their representation of us will not be looked upon by those we desire to operate upon as our own. We can furnish matters of fact and argument for them to combat the friends of despotism, and thus render very essential service to the cause of human freedom. It is our duty to give their periodicals an efficient support; we owe it both to them and the cause they advocate. We can never watch the progress of our cause without we attentively peruse the anti-slavery papers of the day.

From any thing that we have written, we would not be understood as setting forth claims for public patronage on the score of mental ability, or *complexional affinity*. In the former our fairer brethren are infinitely our superiors, and occupy the vantage ground. But from the consideration that the constitutional divisions of society, that has resulted from a perverse public sentiment, our lot has been cast among that portion of the oppressed Americans that will not disguise from us their feelings, affections, or sympathies—nor hide from us their follies and vices. Therefore, from our very situation, we are more intimately acquainted with their sentiments, habits, manners, and customs, than our anti-slavery friends.

HENRY CLAY AND THOMAS MORRIS.

We have read attentively the speeches of these two distinguished Senators. They are on the subject of American slavery. They are so much in juxtaposition to each other, that our genius is too poor to draw the parallel. They are too long for our columns, probably we may at some future time make a few ex-

tracts. We expect they will be published in pamphlet form, and we recommend our readers to purchase them. The former, for its base servility to slaveholding interest and feeling, has yet to be excelled. True it is, the Kentucky orator has taken no new position, but has with his peculiar force of talent endeavored to consolidate the common pro-slavery doctrines in a single speech, and thus lend them the influence of his name and the character of the body in which they were delivered. He was perfectly aware that the majority of the people are in ignorance on the subject of immediate emancipation, or he never would have risked his hard earned reputation by asserting so many gross errors. Errors that many of the despised race that he is attempting to injure could correct, that are yet too young to be taken from the free schools. He, of course, goes the whole for "*African Colonization*." It is one of those efforts that is designed to *perish*. If it be quoted in after times, it will only be done to *degrade him*. The speech of the latter is a triumphant reply to the former. It is bold, manly, and independent. It is founded on the principles of liberty, right, and justice. The matter is rich and abundant, "filled with innate fire and glitters with living light." He boldly repudiates every anti-republican doctrine, and maintains the doctrine of Jefferson in its fullest terms. The speech itself will be revered in coming years; and will go down to posterity along with that matchless instrument the "Declaration of Independence," there to live in the hearts of freemen to the latest generations; "because it carries with it its own elements of duration." It is decidedly the greatest speech on the subject of human liberty that was ever delivered in the American Senate. Its effect in the South will be felt as powerful as the rays of the meridian sun on our "snow capped mountains."

PETITIONS! PETITIONS!

This is the season for legislation; let us send our petitions to Harrisburg praying for "trial by jury" to be extended to all persons, where life or liberty is involved. The amend-

ed Constitution specifies two distinct classes of citizens, *white* and *colored*. Let us ask our lawgivers what are the right and privileges of the latter. Probably they will not deny us the "*right of petition*" in this "democratic Commonwealth," a right that is freely enjoyed by the serfs of an eastern monarch.

TO WISDOM'S INSTITUTE AT TROY.

EPISTEL III.

Grammar and Composition.

My dear Sisters,—As all of you have paid more or less attention to English grammar, perhaps it is not necessary to write concerning it; notwithstanding, in order that the symmetry of these letters may not be marred, I will make some remarks relative to its necessity and utility.

I introduce my remarks with the following proposition, that *A familiar acquaintance with the grammar of our vernacular language is essential to our respectability and usefulness*. That it is essential to our respectability is manifest in the fact that we are continually coming in contact with our educated and fairer neighbors, who do not only regard correct language as a mark of gentility, but also allege our ignorance of it as an excuse for their prejudice. There is considerable force in this excuse, for few if any educated persons desire to associate with those from whose lips are ever heard the sounds of unpolished language; and if they make the use of correct language a rule of association, then the only exception which I can see would or ought to be made in favor of elevated morals and exemplary piety. Unpolished language is always disgusting to the refined ear, and if we wish to be agreeable to such we must use pleasing language.

Again, correct language is pleasing and respectable in the mouth of any person; and those who can employ it have one obstacle removed out of the way of their elevation, and will be respected in this particular by every man and woman. For correct and polished language is like the notes of a well-tuned instrument. It falls sweetly upon the listening ear. And this was the first point to be proved. That it is essential to our usefulness, is evinced in the fact that it lies at the foundation of all science. For what is practical grammar but the adjustment of language? And how can any science be taught or learned but through the medium of language either oral or written? If there be another medium it is beyond my research. We have read of

savages who can converse, make contracts, and traffic by means of their features and gestures, but since the world began it has never been known that men could communicate the knowledge of science through such means.

Now, as language is the only medium through which we may teach or learn a science, the accurate knowledge of the science to be taught or learned is dependent upon the accuracy of the language which is employed. So also in our ordinary intercourse with men; if we wish to speak about the most common things or occurrences of life, the perfect knowledge of the thing or occurrence spoken of depend, almost entirely, upon the accuracy of the language which is used, and if the attention is fixed upon the subject, and the mind in a healthy state, a perfect knowledge of it depends entirely upon accurate language. And accurate language hangs upon grammar just as the fruit hangs upon the tree. This is known and admitted by every educated person, and to assert that an individual can in every case use correct language without a familiar acquaintance with the grammar of it, is to assert that an apple can grow upon a tree without hanging to it. But you say you have heard persons speak correctly who never studied grammar; true, but they only spoke correctly when they spoke of little things, and when those things required but little to be said about them. They speak from habit, not from rule. And they speak thus because they have been reared in the midst of persons who never used incorrect language. But were you to set such persons to the study of science and philosophy, they would soon find themselves where the waggoner found his team when he cried to Hercules for help. To illustrate these remarks, suppose you were reading a book, and coming to the word *adjust*, through ignorance, forgetfulness, or some other cause you did not know its import, or had but a confused idea of it. Turning to a dictionary you might find *adjust*, v. a., to set in order; still you would wish to know what does verb active mean, and would not be able to draw forth the marrow of the word in its different forms, *adjust*, *adjusting*, *adjusted*, *adjustment*, *adjustable*; for it is grammar alone that can enable you to understand its different shades of meaning in every change of form. In a word, the intrinsic force of every word in a language, with its various shades of meaning in its different positions and change of form, can be determined only by a familiar acquaintance with the grammar of that language, so that those who will extend their researches

beyond the limits of newspapers, biographical, and historical reading, must learn the grammar of the language which they speak.

And he who can be extensively useful in this enlightened age and country—he who can operate upon the minds of the learned as well as the ignorant, without a grammatical knowledge of his language, must be taller than the sons of men!

For to reach the minds of all classes of persons you must be acquainted with the intrinsic power of the language spoken by them, and to be acquainted with the intrinsic power of it, you must become acquainted with the grammar of it, which was the last point to be proved.

Composition.

By this I mean the practical application of the rules of grammar in the expression of your thoughts by means of written language. This exercise is very profitable to the mind. The habit of writing our thoughts enables us to think and speak with increasing clearness. The simplest subjects are the best for beginners, therefore the visible objects of nature should first claim your attention; and the location of your city is very favorable to this. The beautiful stream of the Hudson;—its banks crowned with villages and cities;—its villages and cities breathing with industrious and intelligent citizens;—its highlands robed in winter with garments of spotless snow, and in summer overspread with the green carpet of nature, are all objects worthy of your thoughts and pens.

When you have exercised your minds with these earthly scenes, lift up your eyes to heaven and behold the sun shedding a flood of light over earth and sky; see the moon walking in brightness, and the starry host scattered in shining clusters over the boundless expanse, and while you are surveying the scene sublime you will find your hearts and pens praising the God who made it.

From these subjects you can proceed to the moral and religious, and thus rise from subject to subject until you find your minds glowing with the light of truth, and your pens recording with elegance and perspicuity the works of nature and the praise of nature's God!

Affectionately yours

ORIGEN.

Carlisle, (Pa.) March 22.

From the United States Gazette.

IMPORTANT SLAVE CASE.

The case which is stated in the following opinion of JUDGE HOPKINSON, delivered on the 8th instant, is of a character that cannot fail

to be interesting to the community. A request was made for a copy for publication, which was kindly and promptly complied with.

The care and labor manifested in collating and weighing the testimony, reflects much credit upon the Judge, and his example in preparing an opinion which so fully embraces the circumstances of the case, as well as the reasons upon which his decision is founded, is worthy of imitation.

During this investigation the Court room was filled to overflowing, and the result was received with shouts of rejoicing and applause.

Counsel for the claimant, E. D. INGRAHAM, Esq.

For the respondent, CHARLES GILPIN and DAVID PAUL BROWN, Esqrs., Counsellors of the Pennsylvania Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.

OPINION DELIVERED, MARCH 8th, 1839,

In the case of "Isaac" or "William Stansbury;" claimed as a fugitive from the service of Ruth Williams, of Prince George county, in the State of Maryland.

OPINION OF JUDGE HOPKINSON.

The hearing of this case commenced on the 31st day of January last, and has been attended throughout the several sittings with an increasing excitement and interest. There are questions and circumstances involved in it calculated to give it more importance than ordinarily belongs to examinations of this description.

On the one side we have a citizen of a sister state, coming here under the protection and authority of that state, claiming to have restored to her certain property, of which she alleges she has been unlawfully deprived; and insisting upon her right to my order to have this property delivered to her by the injunctions of the Constitution of the United States, which I am bound to obey. In the other party, who denies and resists this claim, we have an individual who has lived among us for more than twenty-three years—has a wife and family of children depending upon him, and a home, from all which he must be separated, if the claimant has made good her right. These are considerations that make it peculiarly incumbent on the Judge, who is to decide the question, and to decide it by the evidence that has been brought before him, to weigh that evidence carefully and scrupulously, without prejudice or influence from any other quarter. He is to yield nothing, on the one side to the power and patriotism of the state of Maryland, which have been strongly invoked for the cause of the claimant; nor, on the

other, to any feeling for the consequence of his judgment to the respondent and his family—much less to any opinions of his own on the question of slavery.

Nobody recognises more fully and firmly than myself the complete legal and constitutional right of the owner of a slave in and to his person and services—no one is more deeply impressed than I am by the solemn guaranty, which those states of our Union, whose laws permit slavery to exist in them, have received and have a right to exact from every other state; that this right shall be faithfully regarded, and that if a person held to labor or service in one state by the laws thereof shall escape into another, he shall be delivered up to the party to whom such service or labor shall be due. This right it is my duty and desire to respect and secure, not only as a Judge, sworn to respect and secure it, but as a citizen of the United States; firmly believing the union of these states to be our first and greatest blessing, and to maintain it, our highest duty; and knowing that it cannot be maintained but by a faithful performance of all its obligations and provisions by all the parties to it. In my view, the happiness of black and white, of the freeman and the slave, is intimately, I may say in our present circumstances, inseparably connected with the maintenance of that government, under which, and by which, we have attained an unexampled prosperity, and have secured to us every right which a national people can wish for or enjoy. I make these remarks, because the topics to which they allude found no inconsiderable place in the argument of this case. I take the occasion, too, to observe, that the experience of this case, as well as many others, has shown that this mode of trial, directed by the act of Congress, is better for both parties, especially for the person claimed as a slave, than a trial by Jury could be. This hearing began on the last day of January—the claimant of course came prepared with the ordinary *prima facie* proof, sufficient, if uncontradicted, to entitle her to the possession of the respondent. He was taken suddenly in the street, without any notice or expectation of any such design or danger. He could not, therefore, be ready with his proofs and witnesses to repel the claim. It might be necessary to seek for them at a distance, and time was necessary for this purpose. After reading the documentary testimony of the claimant, and examining two of her witnesses, by which the respondent was fully apprized of the nature of the claim, the hearing was postponed, on his application, until the 16th of February. It was then re-

sumed, and the claimant examined another witness, and closed her case. The defence was then entered upon and several witnesses were examined to support it. Another postponement was granted to the 23d of February, to enable the respondent to obtain other witnesses—and again to the 2d of March, when the respondent examined additional witnesses, and the claimant also produced another. It is obvious that a jury could not have been kept together for this length of time, and that much important evidence would have been excluded by a more hasty conclusion.

I will now proceed to an examination of the case, as it appears on the evidence that the parties have respectively offered; for it is only by that evidence, and not on any surmises or conjectures, conclusions or belief, not founded upon it, that I must raise my opinion. Judicially I can have no belief or opinion about it, but such as I can justify by the evidence.

In the power of attorney, given by Ruth Williams, the claimant, to her grandson, William W. Hall, to prosecute this claim, she states that her negro man "Isaac," who calls himself William Stansbury, absconded from her service on, or about the 10th day of February, 1816. We have here an important date ascertained, which we must carry with us throughout the inquiry, which turns so much on the accuracy of dates. The whole question settles down into the question, whether the person now brought before me, and who calls himself William Stansbury, is, or is not the man *Isaac*, who was the slave of William Williams, in his life time, and afterwards came into the possession of his widow, Ruth Williams, and who escaped from the service of Ruth Williams in the month of February, 1816. In short, it is a question of identity of person. This power of attorney bears date on the 19th day of January last, and was executed in consequence of a letter written to Mrs. Williams from George F. Alberti, dated at Philadelphia, on the 29th December, 1838.

In that letter Mr. Alberti informed her, that he understood she had a slave named Isaac, alias William Stansbury, who absconded from her about the year 1815. He gives the name of Isaac's mother, and tells her, that his features are just the same as usual, and advises her how to proceed to have him arrested and delivered to her. It is no part of my business to inquire how Mr. Alberti got his information of a transaction which took place nearly twenty-three years before; I mention the letter only as being the commencement of this proceeding. Mr. Hall came to this city with his

power of attorney and some witnesses to identify the person of Isaac. He was arrested in the street, and brought before me—I have given every opportunity to both parties to settle this question of identity, by their evidence, and will now, briefly as I can, compare the testimony offered, and endeavor to come to a satisfactory conclusion from the whole. Identity can be proved only by inspection of the person, and, when such proof has been given, it may be disproved or discredited by the proof of circumstances, absolutely incompatible with it. But such circumstances must be clearly proved; and they must be absolutely irreconcilable with the direct proof of identity, for, if the counter proof is doubtful, or, at least, not brought to a reasonable certainty—or may be consistent with the evidence of identity, the direct and positive proof must prevail—subject, however, to the general and just rule of law which throws the burden of proof on the party who claims the recovery of that which is in the possession of another. If, therefore, the circumstances themselves, and the proof of them be such as to bring the testimony for the claimant into so much uncertainty and doubt, that the mind cannot be satisfied to rely upon it, the legal consequence is that it must fail. In short, the proof of identity by inspection will be sufficient, unless it be wholly discredited or so impeached by contradictory evidence that the judgment cannot be satisfied to depend upon it. The proof of ownership, says the act of Congress, must be “to the satisfaction of the judge.” A conscientious witness will be cautious in his testimony of identity, and take care not to be too absolute and positive in his knowledge of it, for assuredly strange mistakes have been made upon this subject by witnesses, whose honest intentions could not be questioned.

By a certificate from the Register's office of Prince George county, Maryland, it appears that letters of administration were granted to Ruth Williams and James Beck on the personal estate of William Williams, deceased, on the 7th day of October, 1806, and in the inventory of the estate, we find a “boy named Isaac,” about ten years old, appraised at \$200. The respondent is claimed to be this boy Isaac—and the question is, whether he is or is not.

The first witness examined on the part of the claimant, was *Beale Duval*, whose manner of testifying and deportment throughout his examination was such as to impress us with the entire sincerity of his testimony. This witness now resides a few miles from the city of Baltimore, but in 1806 he resided in Prince

George county, and did so until about two years past, about two or three miles from the house of William Williams—knows Mrs. Williams—was frequently at her house—there was a considerable family intimacy between them—knew all her servants for many years—he has seen the respondent a vast many times—has seen him at the house of her master and mistress, and at his (the witness) house—he went by the name of Isaac—and was claimed by Mr. Williams as his slave to his death—after his death, Mrs. Williams always had him in possession—he was born on Mr. Williams's place—witness knew his mother—he had a brother, still in the family when witness left the county—don't recollect precisely when he ran away—he has been gone twenty years and upwards—witness said that he had no doubt that the respondent is the boy Isaac—he recognised him as soon as he saw him—he has a mark on his forehead, occasioned by a burn when young.

The cross examination related to the time when the witness heard of the claim now depending—and from whom he heard of it—at whose instance he came here—of seeing the respondent first in the street—when he knew him directly—that he was told by a young man that respondent was in the street, detailing the place—had not seen him, until then, for upwards of 20 years—thinks that when he went away he was between 15 and 17 years of age—he repeated, that he never saw a person he could recognise more certainly—he is not much changed—has a beard now—but had not then—yesterday witness asked him if he knew him—he would not acknowledge it—would not commit himself, or own any of the transactions of which he spoke to him.

William Williams was the next witness. He said—I reside in Prince George county—was born there—at fourteen years old went to Baltimore, for seven years, and then returned to Prince George—knows Mrs. Ruth Williams—knew Mr. Williams in his life time—Mr. Williams raised me until I was 14 years old—am now 46—he died in 1805 or 1806—knew the boy Isaac from his infancy—he was 9 or 10 years old when Mr. Williams died—left him at the house of Mr. Williams when I went to Baltimore, and found him there when I returned—he ran away in 1815 or '16—his mother and two brothers lived there at the same time—witness gave an account of the brother and mother of Isaac—his boy (Isaac) was always claimed by Mrs. Williams as her slave after the death of Mr. Williams—he had a mark on his forehead, occasioned by a burn—I recognised him as soon as I saw him—I un-

derstand he had an uncle named *Nashe* (Ignatius) Beck, who belonged to Joseph Beck—a brother of Mrs. Williams.

On a cross examination the witness said that Mr. Williams was his uncle and raised him—that he lived about four miles from Mrs. Williams—was at her house two or three times a week—on my return from Baltimore, I saw Isaac at my store and at his mistress's—I spoke to Isaac yesterday—he said he did not know his master or mistress, mother or brother, or the state or county—that he did not know where he was born, nor where he came from.

John Riddle was sworn—he said he resides in Prince George county, Maryland—is 49 years old—has known him (the respondent) ever since he knew himself—lives three quarters of a mile from Mrs. Williams—in intimate in her family—knew her people—knew the boy named "Isaac," a yellow boy—we were raised together—I was 8 or 10 years older than he—he was hired out—he was claimed by Mr. Williams in his life time as his slave, and by Mrs. Williams after his death—I always understood she took him as her part—I knew the mother of the boy—she was a slave to Mr. Williams—she bought her freedom, and now lives in Washington—the respondent is the same man—is not changed—saw his brother a few weeks ago at Mrs. Hall's, a daughter of Mrs. Williams—there is a strong resemblance between the brothers; I have no doubt that this is the man—he had a scar over one of his eyes—the witness points to the scar.

Cross examined—I saw him a month or two before he went away—it is 20 odd years ago; about the time the war was ended.

With this evidence and the certificate of the letters of administration, and inventory of the personal estate of Mr. Williams, the counsel for the claimant closed his case,—but at a subsequent hearing produced Dennis Duval as a witness, whose testimony I shall state here, that the whole of the claimants evidence may be brought together. He was examined after several of the respondent's witnesses.

He said—that he resides in Prince George county, and has done so all his life—is 49 years old—lives about 1½ miles from Mrs. Ruth Williams—always intimate in the family, visiting there constantly—knew all her people—knows the boy (the respondent)—knew him at Mrs. Williams's house—I recollect his running away—I think he was something like 20 years old—a stout youth—think he had a little mark on his forehead, occasioned by a burn—scalded—have not seen him since until today—I recognised him immediately—can't

recollect exactly the year he went away, but thought it was between 1817 and 1820—the fact was known in the neighborhood—he was advertised—I have no doubt that he is the boy.

The cross examination related to the question of his relationship to Mrs. Williams, and Beale Duval—he was related to neither, and the witness said, he was to have come here as a witness some weeks ago, but was sick—that he came at the request of Mrs. Williams, he had no conversation with her on the subject—she never showed him the letter, (Alberti's,) received from this quarter about the claim, nor did she speak of any—she told me that her servant was here in prison, and asked me if I did not think I should know him—thinks the scar on the forehead was on the left side, but that it does not form any part of my recollection of him—his face is familiar to me—he had heard Mr. Williams (the witness) after his return home, say that Isaac had a mark—probably I might have asked Williams if he had a scar—I first saw him where he is now—nobody pointed him out to me as the person on trial—the witness said he had been with Mr. Alberti and Mr. Hall the evening before, and the conversation was about the boy—he does not recollect what he said nor that he told them what he could prove—the witness said that on coming into the court room, Mr. Hall pointed out the man to him—he now says, Mr. Hall, Williams and myself came in the court room this morning, and I said, "there sits the man"—and on a question, he added, "Mr. Hall did not point him out to me, or point his hand towards him—on a question put by the Judge, who reminded him that he had said that Mr. Hall did point out Isaac to him, and showed the manner in which it was done, the witness replied—that he was satisfied that he was mistaken, when he said that Mr. Hall pointed out the man to him when they came into the court this morning.

I cannot but observe here the confusion and errors which this witness fell into in the course of his examination, not with any intention, to impute any improper design to him—I do not believe he had any, but to claim some indulgence for other witnesses who have been treated, for similar mistakes, with great severity.—In the first place, as to time, this witness thought that Isaac went away between the years, 1817 and 1820, when this event happened in February, 1816—yet I do not doubt that Mr. Duval spoke to the best of his recollection. In the second place he stated as a fact that Isaac was advertised, and afterwards

admitted he had never seen the advertisement, that he only heard so—that Mrs. Williams was the person who had told him so—now, as a very superior degree of intelligence has been claimed for the witnesses of the claimant, and been the subject of high eulogy, one would suppose that they knew the difference between hearsay, and a fact within their own knowledge, to which only they should testify. But a more remarkable instance of confusion or inadvertency in this witness is, that he said distinctly, that on coming into the court room, Mr. Hall pointed out the respondent to him—he afterwards said he did not, but that he immediately said “there sits the man,”—and on my question, he said, he was mistaken when he said Mr. Hall pointed him out. I recollect no mistake so extraordinary as this in any other witness in the whole course of his examination—a fact was distinctly stated to have happened but two or three hours before it was given in evidence, and then it is withdrawn, the witness saying he was mistaken when he stated it. Again this witness was in a conversation, the evening before he gave his evidence, with Mr. Hall and Alberti, and he did not recollect what he said in this conversation—nor that he told them what he could prove.

I most truly and seriously acquit this gentleman of any improper motives or intention to state a falsehood, or conceal the truth; he was evidently hurried and confused. But if this may happen to one of his standing and intelligence, it should not be visited too harshly upon those who are his inferiors in both, and whose inferiority has been pressed as a reason why their testimony should not be considered of equal or of any weight.

I have thus taken an ample review of the evidence by which Mrs. Ruth Williams has supported her claim to the labor or service of the person she has arrested and brought before me, under the name of Isaac, or William Stansbury. If that evidence cannot be disproved, it cannot be denied that it is sufficient to overflowing, to establish her right. It is clear, positive and unhesitating, from witnesses of an undoubted character and intelligence, who cannot be suspected of any wilful misrepresentation, or any careless and culpable indifference to the consequences of their testimony, to themselves and to others. They have spoken confidently, what they truly believe, if their testimony and if the fact, that is, of the identity of William Stansbury with the boy Isaac, who ran away from Mrs. Williams in February, 1816, be of a character about which mistake cannot reasonably be presumed

or believed, it must be admitted that her claim has been well established, and it would be hardly necessary to give any attention to the testimony produced on the part of the respondent. No one, however, of professional experience in trials at law, who has had opportunities of observing the errors which witnesses, of the best character, innocently fall into in delivering their testimony, not only of long past, but of recent transactions, will be willing to say that any evidence, from whatever witness it may come, may not be founded in some mistake. On the subject of the identity of persons, instances have occurred of the most surprising description. They have occurred in relation to brute animals, as well as to men. Controversies have arisen about the property of a horse, and numerous witnesses, of unexceptionable character, have testified for the one side and the other with equal positiveness. On one occasion, I think it was in Chester county—the horse was brought into the court room—was standing in the presence of the witnesses for their examination, when they gave their evidence, without producing the least change of belief in any one of them. The counsel for the claimant, adverting to the respondent's witnesses reminded us, how often highwaymen have escaped by having their confederates ready to prove an *alibi*, by an artful narration of circumstances, all true except as to the time. On the other hand, we should also remember the lamentable instances in which innocent persons have been convicted and executed as highwaymen, on proof of identity as positive as that we have in this case; not, I agree, with equal opportunities of knowledge, but with equal good faith in the witnesses.

I well remember a remarkable case, tried in June, 1804, in New York, in which the uncertainty of evidence of identity was wonderfully exemplified; I have since obtained a report of the trial. It was an indictment for bigamy against one Thomas Hoag, alias Joseph Parker. The question was whether the prisoner was the person who, under the name of Thomas Hoag, had married one Catharine Secor, four years before, having another wife, then dead. He denied that he was the man, or that Thomas Hoag was his name—and insisted that he was in name and fact Joseph Parker—and that he was never married to Catharine Secor. Numerous respectable witnesses, wholly disinterested, testified that the prisoner had lived and worked with them—that they knew him well—and that he was Thomas Hoag. Among the circumstances by which they knew him was a scar on his fore

head, which the prisoner had. Benjamin Coe, one of the Judges of the county court, testified that Hoag had lived and worked with him, that he had married him to Catharine Secor, and he was as much satisfied that he was Thomas Hoag, as that he (the witness) was Benjamin Coe.—Other witnesses swore to his identity with equal positiveness. But, what is more strange, Catharine Secor, the woman who was said to be his second wife, swore that she became acquainted with him in September, 1800—that he married her in December 25th, of the same year; and lived with her till the latter end of March, 1801, when he left her. She said, "I am as well convinced as I can be of any thing in the world, that the defendant now here, is the person who married me, by the name of Thomas Hoag." On the other side, witnesses equally respectable, swore with equal certainty, that the person was Joseph Parker—and they traced their knowledge of him living in the city of New York from time to time in the years 1799, 1800, 1801, with circumstances that made it impossible that he could have been in the county of Rockland, where the marriage with Catharine Secor was solemnized, at the period of that marriage. So the question stood, and was thus finally decided, two of the witnesses, for the prosecution, testified, that Thomas Hoag had a scar under his foot, occasioned by his treading on a drawing knife, that the scar was easy to be seen. His feet were exposed to the Court and Jury, and no scar was there—and there was an end of the question. The prisoner was really Joseph Parker, and was not Thomas Hoag.

But does any body think of imputing the crime of perjury to the witnesses who swore positively as well as circumstantially, without reservation, that he was Thomas Hoag.—By no means. It is then a mistake in the argument to say that if upon the whole evidence of this case the true or most probable conclusion should be, that the respondent is really William Stansbury, and not Mrs. Williams's "Isaac," an imputation of perjury, or of any other legal or moral offence, will rest upon her witnesses. We may therefore go to the examination of the evidence given on the part of the respondent, without any fear of taking any thing, even by suspicion, from the respectable characters of the opposing witnesses.

In order to overthrow or disprove the evidence of the claimant, it is necessary that the respondent's evidence should be more certain, more satisfactory, less liable to mistakes than hers. If they are incompatible, as assuredly they are, if they cannot both be true, then we

must take that which can be most safely relied upon.—The object is to reach the truth of the case, through and by the evidence, and not to take any thing to be truth from any prejudice or preconceived opinions; nor from surmises and suspicions however strong they may be, and whatever disposition we may have to adopt them. For every fact, to which I give my belief, I must be able to say, here is the proof of it.

As a preliminary remark to a review of the respondent's testimony, I will observe, that I have no faith in any one's recollection of dates and time, if he has nothing by which he can ascertain them, but the *mere act of his memory*. On the other hand, if memory acts not upon the insulated point of time, but upon certain circumstances of a character to fix themselves on the memory, and the time of these circumstances, are either of public and unquestionable notoriety, or can be proved by credible written documents, then it is obvious that the evidence is not to *time* but to *facts*, and the time is ascertained by the facts thus proved.

Justice to the respondent requires of me, although at the expense of considerable labor, to give the same careful examination of his testimony that I have given to that of the claimant.

The first witness was William Butler. He says he knew Stansbury about the year 1815; was in his company in New York. This is of little importance, for he mentions nothing by which this date is remembered, unless it can be connected with the testimony of Capt. Whippley, so as to be corroborated by it.

George Melburn, swears that he knows Stansbury; has known him ever since the war, and knew him during the continuance of the war. This witness here refers to a circumstance of public notoriety to fix the time of his acquaintance with Stansbury. He speaks of the building of the batteries on the west side of the Schuylkill for defence against an expected attack by the British. He says that he and Stansbury went out together with the colored people to assist in that work. He is certain they went together, and he knew him a year before that—now it is a fact of general notoriety that the colored people did go out to work at these batteries, and that this took place in the fall of 1814. If then it be true that the witness and the respondent went out together to this work, putting aside his declaration that he knew Stansbury a year before, it is undeniable that he cannot be Mrs. Williams's boy Isaac, who did not leave her service until February, 1816; that is, about thirteen months after the work alluded to.

The witness adds that he is satisfied Stansbury is the man; he was intimate with him; that is, that he did not only see him on that occasion, but knew him before and after; he says he thinks that he knew him to be employed in throwing wood out of boats in 1811 or '12; to this I pay little regard. On a close cross examination he said nothing that appeared to weaken his testimony, and his manner betrayed no uneasiness of feeling; he gave a simple account of his own history.

Abraham Dutton—Knew Stansbury 25 years ago; he, the witness, was going in a sloop bringing wood to the city, and Stansbury was at the drawbridge throwing the wood out; he fixes the time to be 25 years, because he lived at Mount Holly; it is 27 years since he went there, and he lived there seven years, and saw Stansbury two years after he went there; he knows from his marriage the time he went to Mount Holly. It will be 27 years next December since he was married. This is not very satisfactory as to the time of his first knowledge of Stansbury, although his calculations are pretty accurate, but the defect is in fixing by any circumstances that he did know Stansbury while he lived at Mount Holly.—If he is not mistaken in that, all the rest proves that he did know respondent seven years before Isaac left the service of Mrs. Williams.

Ignatius Beck. This is a very important witness, and his testimony should be closely examined, for if he has not uttered the most broad and unsheltered falsehoods, Stansbury cannot be the claimant's man Isaac. The appearance of Beck, now far advanced in life, with the proof of it on his gray hairs, was without exception becoming; nor did a very severe cross examination betray him into any impropriety or appearance of feeling. He is the brother of the mother of Isaac who absconded from Mrs. Williams; he has sworn distinctly that he knew Stansbury in 1810 or thereabouts; knew him before the war began; is satisfied of it. He then mentions the circumstances by which he fixes the time of his knowledge; he says he moved out of 7th street into St. Mary's street, which was in 1810; that Stansbury, whom he had seen before, came and helped him to unload his furniture, and *he has known him ever since*; that is the man; he had got him to haul wood for him; he was away 2 or 3 years after he got acquainted with him, but in 1827 he was here working along the wharves; still we have nothing but his memory, to fix the time of his moving into St. Mary's street; he put this beyond a doubt by producing the receipts of his landlord, Robert Mercer, for rent; the first

receipt in a book dated Dec. 10, 1810, for 3 month's rent; another in June 1811, no others were turned to; he said he moved there in the fall of 1810, before the receipt was shown, and he could not read; he says that his sister Amy, the mother of Isaac, came to see him, (the witness,) about ten years ago; staid with him about 9 or 10 months; that he is not Stansbury's uncle; he said from his age and the respect the colored people had for him, they were in the habit of calling him sometimes "uncle Beck," and sometimes "father Beck;" he is 65 or 66 years old.

On cross examination he gave a particular account of the family of his old master, Joseph Beck, of his own manumission and history; he said he understood Stansbury to say that he came from the northward; somewhere about New Bedford; this may be connected with Capt. Whippey's evidence; he stated a fact of much importance; that is, that during the visit of his sister Amy here ten years ago, a visit which continued for 9 or 10 months; he never saw her and Stansbury together; this is incredible if she was the mother of Stansbury and Beck his uncle.

Unless this old man, so respectable in his appearance and demeanor, and unimpeached by a whisper against his veracity or general character, and contradicted by no one in the particular facts he has narrated; unless the whole of his story is a false and foul fabrication, a series of corrupt perjuries, it is not possible that William Stansbury is the runaway boy Isaac.

Jonathan Judas. He also speaks of the building of the batteries over Schuylkill—he was active in getting the colored people to go out and work—he got the names of those who agreed to go—among them was that of Wm. Stansbury—the witness wrote his name down—this he says is the same person—he has been acquainted with him from that day to this—Stansbury went out with him—witness says he had the honor of being Captain that day—they met, 360 in number, in the State House Yard—Stansbury then appeared to be from 20 to 22 years old—never talked with him about the place he came from—witness was born in 1784. Is this all a fabrication? By what testimony, either to the facts themselves or the credibility of the witness, is it proved to be so?

Henrietta Reading—Knows Stansbury and first knew him in 1812, as she believes, from a circumstance that occurred, which was the wedding of Richard Paxson—which was in April, 1813, and of his sister which was on the 1st of May following—she became ac-

quainted with Stansbury the fall before these weddings—has known him ever since. I do not lay much stress on this witness, for although it was proved by the records of the meeting that she was accurate as to the time of the weddings—she has mentioned no circumstance which has enabled her to say that it was the fall before these events that she knew Stansbury—it is mere memory of time unassisted by circumstances, or nearly so.

Amy Curry was brought here on my suggestion—she is the mother of Isaac who absconded from Mrs. Williams. I shall say but little of her testimony, as she stood in a most difficult situation, if this is her son. She however clearly and distinctly asserted that he is not. She said, pointing to the respondent—*this is not Isaac, he is none of mine.* She spoke of the mark as being on Isaac's cheek differing from those who said it was on his forehead, as this man's is. It will be remembered that I asked this witness if she belonged to any religious society—she replied she did—to the Methodist. I then made a serious appeal to her conscience and fears if she said any thing untrue—reminding her that it would be no excuse for her that she did it to save her child; she said she knew all this, and persisted in her story. If she has deceived us, she has deceived herself more fatally.

On her cross examination she certainly fell into some contradictions, which may have their effect on her credit; but they were not more striking than those of Mr. Dennis Duval. I would shelter them both by the same mantle of charity—she too was somewhat hurried and confused on her cross-examination. She also says that she did not see this man (Stansbury) during her visit to her brother, J. Beck, ten years ago.

The only remaining witness is Capt. Whippley. He is confined in the debtor's apartment, (from whence he was brought to testify) where the respondent has also been kept. After respondent had been there a day or more, he asked me (says the witness) if I had any recollection of coming from Nantucket, in 1810—his naming the sloop and the master's name, brought it to my recollection, that I was a passenger in her. He told me he was a boy at the time on board of her—I don't recollect any thing of this man—but there was a colored boy on board, who ran away from the vessel on our arrival at New York—I asked how he came to know me—he said that hearing my name mentioned in the prison, had led him to ask me the question—the boy, as far as I can recollect, was rather of a

lightish cast. The witness then mentioned circumstances which was satisfactory to show that this voyage was performed in the winter of 1810. He also said that he had mentioned these circumstances to no one in the prison. Stansbury mentioned to him the year, the season of the year, and the name of the sloop and her master, all correctly. This is very powerful evidence, unless we may account for it by the supposition of the claimant's counsel, that is, that there is a colored man in the prison to whom all this happened, and that he made the communications to Stanley, to use them for himself. This is an ingenious surmise, but where is the proof of it? If such was the belief of the counsel, it might have been at once verified by sending to the prison, or asking the question of the keeper of the prison, who was here in Court with his prisoner. Why did he trust so important a matter to an *argument*, when it was susceptible of *proof*.

One circumstance remains to be noticed, which has been vehemently pressed by the counsel for the claimant. It is certainly not without its importance, although it is claiming too much for it to say it is conclusive on the whole case. It is alleged that the respondent has not either at this hearing or to any of the witnesses, his friends and intimates, ever told who he is or where he came from. This is not strictly correct. Ignatius Beck testifies that he understood from Stansbury that he came from the northward, somewhere about New Bedford; and if he is the boy Capt. Whippley spoke of, this is not improbable. It would have been more satisfactory to have had a better account of him; but his habitual silence on this subject and the want of more proof in relation to it, is but a circumstance of suspicion, that he has or may have some reason for saying nothing about it;—still it is but a circumstance of suspicion. It cannot prevail against the mass of positive evidence he has brought to prove that whoever or whatever he may be, he is not the slave of Mrs. Williams. I cannot adopt the reasoning, that because he does not show where he comes from, therefore he ran away from Mrs. Williams;—that because he does not show who he is, therefore he is her boy Isaac. Unless we carry this circumstance out to this conclusion, it cannot avail the claimant, whatever suspicion it may throw on the respondent. What reasons he has for this concealment I do not know; but I cannot say that they have any reference to the claim or right of Mrs. Williams. On the contrary they certainly cannot have any such reference, unless her witnesses have one and all sworn falsely.

I will put a familiar case: A man is charged with having stolen property—say a horse—in his possession. On the trial the prosecutor swears positively that the horse is his and was taken from him on a certain day. If the defendant proves by numerous witnesses, to the satisfaction of the Court, that he had the horse in his possession one

year before the prosecutor lost his horse, and has had him ever since, is it any answer to such testimony to say—you have not shown where you got this horse? Is it not enough to show that it cannot be that which belonged to the prosecutor?

To the witnesses of the claimant I can freely say—you have done no wrong—you have honestly testified to an *opinion*—for it is only to an opinion, which you truly and conscientiously believed; but you have been mistaken in a matter, on a question, as to which many honest men have been mistaken before you; and if you should now be satisfied that you were mistaken, you will rejoice that it has done no wrong. But if I were to discredit the witnesses of the respondent—if I were to treat their testimony as unworthy of belief, I could address no such consolatory language to them. I must say to them broadly and plainly—you are branded and blackened with a foul crime before God and man, volunteered by you in the most unnecessary and wanton manner. You were not called upon to speak at all, if you knew nothing of the case; but if you did speak, you were bound to tell the truth and the whole truth by the most solemn obligations. Dare I pronounce such a condemnation upon these people, unimpeached by any attempt upon their general good character and veracity, or by any thing apparent in their conduct here to bring suspicion upon their evidence. In such a case, can I turn them all off as confederates and conspirators with the respondent to defraud the claimant of her property, while I am unable to lay my finger on a particle of evidence or single circumstance to justify or defend such a course toward them. It may be well for counsel—for I presume it was truly his opinion—to dispose of all the testimony given for the respondent, by charging it in mass, to be falsehood and perjury—to have been fabricated by confederators and conspirators. He may be satisfied with his opinion, that the object of the counsel of the respondent is not the truth; but to encourage the poor wretches, (as he designates the witnesses of the respondent,) who have come here in their perjuries; but as I have no such knowledge or opinion, I cannot found a decree upon them, nor in any manner adopt them. Nor can I agree with the counsel, that it is enough to discredit Beck that he is of the same race and color with the respondent. This would put these people in a strange and perilous condition. It would be enough to have a white witness, however connected with the claimant by the ties of neighborhood, friendship, or blood; however united with her in a common feeling and interest for such claims. By the law of this state, which I am bound to administer, in this respect, the black witnesses stand here as entirely competent as the white, and their credit is to be tried by the same rules and principles. I am no more authorized to say, nor disposed to say, that any witness for the respondent is to be discredited because he is of the same race and color with the respondent, than I would be to discredit for the same reason a witness for the claimant. Neither the law nor any sense of justice will warrant any such discrimination. There is one broad line of discrimination between the witnesses of the claimant and the respondent.

The first speak of the identity of a person they have not seen for twenty-three years, and who was then a youth, and can only deliver an opinion concerning it, they can only testify to recollection—to memory—after a long lapse of time; while the others speak of one they have seen constantly from time to time, for a longer period—who has never been out of their view for any great length of time; and of facts and circumstances, which must be true or false. It would be a strange principle for a Court of Justice to adopt, in trials of this sort, that no black witness is to be believed—that perjury must be presumed of all of them. The whole examination then is a mere mockery and waste of time.

It may be that these witnesses have imposed falsehoods upon me for truth; for in what case or by what color of witnesses may that not be. But I have no reason to presume it, or to believe it—and I do not. If they have done so, be it on their own consciences. I have done my duty in giving the weight to their testimony to which, in my judgment, it is entitled. I pretend not to look into the hearts of men—to discover the deceit that may be hidden there; nor do I incur any responsibility if I am so deceived.

I confess that during the examination and discussion of the case, I have had, occasionally, doubts and misgivings about the truth of it. I am not even now entirely without them. How can it be otherwise under the pressure of such conflicting testimony? But I feel it to be my duty to decide it by the whole evidence, and by such a comparison and estimate of it, as the rules of evidence have prescribed for cases of contradictory testimony; and not to yield my judgment to surmises and suspicions that I cannot defend by just conclusions from the whole testimony.

In this case I must refuse the certificate applied for, and order William Stansbury to be discharged from the arrest.

For the National Reformer.

TEMPERANCE EATING HOUSES.

I have ever been at a loss to distinguish the difference between temperance eating houses and grog shops, at least in the manner they are kept in this city, though ardent spirits is not, or may not be sold in them. They are places of resort for many, as they say, to spend their evenings pleasantly, but in my humble opinion of no advantage in the end. I look upon them as the openings through which many youths are lead into the paths of idleness and dissipation. Some may say that they are not intemperate because they drink no ardent spirits; to them I would reply, men can be intemperate, and at the same time not partake of that soul-destroying poison; they may suffer themselves to be overtaken by vices, which at first appear to be nothing more than innocent amusement, but in the end lead wholly to abandon themselves to the vile

affections, and pleasures of the heart. It was said by Plato that temperance was the pillar of fortitude, the helmet and shield against luxuriousness; the keeper and guide of the eyes, the preserver of good will, the rasure of evil thought, the corrector of untamed desires, and an enemy to the disordered will of the soul; that it shunneth natural desires, hindereth dishonest actions, breedeth continency, mollifieth men's hearts, and giveth reason for a rule in all things. It is a lamentable fact that many of our most respectable young men, spend much of their valuable time in such places as temperance eating houses, and too often in grog shops, would that they could be persuaded to abandon such a course, and be found more frequently in reading rooms, or at their own homes, employing their leisure hours in storing the mind with useful knowledge, obtaining that food which will imbue the heart with honorable sentiments and virtuous resolves. Young men remember that much depends on you, if you ever wish to ascend a level with your fellow men, loose no time in idleness.

AMANA.

For the National Reformer.

THE PAINTER OF SEVILLE.*

BY SUSAN WILSON.

'Twas morning in Seville; and brightly beam'd
The early sunbeam in one chamber there,
Showing where e'er its glowing radiance gleam'd,
Rich, varied beauty. 'Twas the study where
Murillo, the famed painter, came to share
With young aspirants his long cherish'd art,—
'To prove how vain must be the teacher's care,
Who strives his unbought knowledge to impart,
The language of the soul, the feelings of the heart!

The pupils came, and glancing round,
Mendez upon his canvass found
Not his own work of yesterday,
But, glowing in the morning ray,
A sketch so rich, so pure, so bright,
It almost seem'd that there were given
To glow before his dazzled sight,
Tints and expression warm from heaven.

'Twas but a sketch—the Virgin's head,—
Yet was unearthly beauty shed
Upon the mildly beaming face;
The lip, the eye, the flowing hair
Had separate, yet blended grace,—
A poet's brightest dream was there!

Murillo enter'd, and amazed,
On the mysterious painting gazed;
"Whose work is this!—speak, tell me!—he
Who to his aid such power can call,"

* "Sebastian Gomez, better known by the name of the Mulatto of Murillo, was one of the most celebrated painters in Spain. There may yet be seen in the churches of Seville, the celebrated picture which he was found painting by his master; a St. Anne, and a holy Joseph, which are extremely beautiful, and others of the highest merit." The incident related above, occurred about the year 1630.

Exclaim'd the teacher eagerly,
"Will yet be master of us all;
"Would I had done it!—Ferdinand!
Isturitz! Mendez!—say whose hand
Among ye all"—with half breath'd sigh,
Each pupil answer'd—" 'Twas not I!"

"How came it then? impatiently
Murillo cried, "but we shall see
Ere long into this mystery,
Sebastian!"

At the summons came
A bright eyed slave,
Who trembled at the stern rebuke,
His master gave.
For, order'd in that room to sleep,
And faithful guard o'er all to keep,
Murillo bade him now declare
What rash intruder had been there,
And threaten'd (if he did not tell
The truth at once,) the dungeon cell.

"Thou answer'st not!" Murillo said,
(The boy had stood in speechless fear,)
Speak, or"—at last he raised his head,
And murmur'd, "No one has been here,"
" 'Tis false!"—Sebastian bent his knee,
And clasp'd his hands imploringly
And said "I swear it! none but me!"

"List," said his master, "I would know
Who enters here,—there have been found
Before, rough sketches strewn around,
By whose bold hand, 'tis yours to show;
See that to-night strict watch you keep,
Nor dare to close your eyes in sleep.
If on to-morrow morn you fail
To answer what I ask,
The lash shall force you—do you hear?
Hence! to your daily task.

* * * * *

'Twas midnight in Seville; and faintly shone
From one small lamp, a dim uncertain ray
Within Murillo's study:—all were gone
Who there, in pleasant tasks, or converse gay,
Pass'd cheerfully the morning hours away.
'Twas shadowy gloom, and breathless silence, save—
That to sad thoughts, and torturing fear a prey,
One bright-eyed boy was there,—Murillo's little slave.

Almost a child, that boy had seen
Not thrice five summers yet,
But genius mark'd the lofty brow,
O'er which his locks of jet
Profusely curled; his cheek's dark hue,
Proclaim'd the warm-blood flowing through
Each throbbing vein, a mingled tide,
To Africa and Spain allied.

"Alas! what fate is mine!" he said,
"The lash, if I refuse to tell
Who sketch'd those figures,—if I do,
Perhaps e'en more, the dungeon cell!"
He breathed a prayer to Heaven for aid,
It came!—for soon in slumber laid,
He slept until the dawning day.
Shed on his humble couch its ray.

"I'll sleep no more," he cried, "and now,
Three hours of freedom I may gain,
Before my master comes, for then
I shall be but a slave again.
Three blessed hours of freedom! how
Shall I employ them?—ah! e'en now
The figure on that canvass traced
Must be,—yes, it must be effaced."

He seized a brush—the morning light
Gave to the head a soften'd glow;
Gazing enraptured on the sight,
He cried, "Shall I efface it?—No!
That breathing lip! that beaming eye!
Efface them?—I would rather die!"

The terror of the humble slave
Gave place to the o'erpow'ring flow
Of the high feelings Nature gave,—
Which only gifted spirits know;
He touch'd the brow—the lip—it seem'd
His pencil had some magic power,
The eye with deeper feeling beam'd,—
Sebastian forgot the hour!
Forgot his master and the threat
Of punishment still hanging o'er him,
For with each touch new beauties met
And mingled in the face before him.

At length 'twas finished;—rapturously
He gazed—could ought more beauteous be!—
A while absorbed, entranced he stood,
Then started;—horror chill'd his blood!
His master, and the pupils all
Were there e'en at his side!
The terror stricken slave was mute,—
Mercy would be denied,
E'en could he ask it;—so he deem'd,
And the poor boy half lifeless seem'd.

Speechless, bewildered,—for a space,
They gazed upon that perfect face,
Each with an artist's joy;
At length Murillo silence broke,
And with affected sternness spoke
"Who is your master, boy?"
"You, senior!" said the trembling slave,
"Nay, who, I mean, instruction gave
Before that Virgin's head you drew?"—
Again he answered, "only you."
"I gave you none!" Murillo cried,—
"But I have heard," the boy replied,
"What you to others said."
"And more than heard," in kinder tone,
The painter said, "'tis plainly shown
That you have profited."

"What," (to his pupils) "is his meed?
Reward or punishment?"
"Reward, reward!" they warmly cried,
(Sebastian's ear was lent
To catch the sounds he scarce believed,
But with imploring look received.)
"What shall it be?" they spoke of gold,
And of a splendid dress,
But still unmoved Sebastian stood,
Silent and motionless.

"Speak!" said Murillo, kindly, "choose
Your own reward, what shall it be?
Name what you wish, I'll not refuse,
Then speak at once, and fearlessly."
"Oh! if I dared,"—Sebastian knelt
And feelings he could not control,
(But fear'd to utter even then.)
With strong emotion shook his soul.

"Courage!" his master said, and each
Essay'd, in kind, half whisper'd speech,
To soothe his overpow'ring dread.
He scarcely heard, 'till some one said
"Sebastian ask, you have your choice,
Ask for your freedom!"—At the word
The suppliant strove to raise his voice,—

At first but stifled sobs were heard,
And then his prayer,—breathed fervently,—
"Oh! master, make my FATHER free!"

"Him and thyself! my noble boy,"
Warmly the painter cried,—
Raising Sebastian from his feet,
He press'd him to his side.
"Thy talents rare, and filial love,
E'en more have fairly won;
Still be thou mine by other bonds,
My pupil, and my son."

Murillo knew, e'en when the words
Of gen'rous feeling pass'd his lips,
Sebastian's talents soon must lead
To fame that would his own eclipse.
And constant to his purpose still,
He joy'd to see his pupil gain
Beneath his care such matchless skill,
As made his name the pride of Spain.

ST. DOMINGO.

We copy the following statement from the
weighmaster of the Port of Philadelphia:—
"There have been imported into the city
during the year 1838, twelve thousand five
hundred and seventy eight bags of coffee from
St. Domingo."—Why not recognise the in-
dependence of Hayti?

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.
New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.
New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.
" *Burlington*—Robert Taylor.
Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.
" *Columbia*—Stephen Smith.
" *Harrisburg*—Junius C. Morell.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION, &c. The size of
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partment should be addressed, *post paid*, to ROBERT
PURVIS, No. 11 Jefferson Row. Those that relate to
subscriptions to this paper must be directed to JOHN P.
BURR, 113 S. Fifth street.

JOHN B. ROBERTS has been appointed general
agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and
form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's
operations, and subscriptions for the 'Reformer.'

LYDIA WHITE'S
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No. 219 NORTH SECOND STREET, PHILA.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—*Acts xvii. 26.*

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society---W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 7.

PHILADELPHIA, MARCH, 1839.

VOL. I.

TO OUR CITY READERS.

A sense of duty compels us to undeceive our readers, respecting the misrepresentations that have been circulated throughout the city concerning our remarks in the 5th number, under the head of "Philadelphia Library Company," &c., where we incidentally discussed the merits of a resolution passed by the "vestry of St. Thomas Church." A very prominent member of said church expressed his reluctance to extend to us the hand of friendship, because, to use his own language, "we had become such a tool as . . . e against a church. We denied the assertion that we had written a single line against St. Thomas Church, and told him plainly, if we had made a single false statement, respecting the "act of the vestry" our columns were open for correction. To this he replied in substance "that they considered the remarks beneath their notice." Therefore, according to his representation, they did not feel sufficient interest for the church to protect it from misrepresentation. We express no opinion as to the motives, and intentions, of those that have given this erroneous interpretation of our views, but we do not hesitate to state that they well knew their effect would be to direct an influence against the circulation of our paper. We will explode every "false issue" that may be brought against us, and when we cannot withstand the "battlements of error" we will "cast anchor, and furl our banners." We therefore defy any candid and intelligent reader to point out a single sentence in those remarks where we have assailed St. Thomas Church. It was the act of the "vestry" that we repudiated. We distinctly stated that the minority of the vestry, and a majority of the congregation were opposed to the proceedings of the vestry, and that their decision formed no part of the ecclesiastical proceedings of the church. The press can never be faithful to its office while it

is awed by power, and surely we have a right to express our opinions of the acts of corporate bodies without being charged with an attempt to *injure the church.*

Let the fact be once established that public men are to remain secure from public censure, and their constitutions and charters will be but safeguards to obstruct the progress of knowledge and the spirit of freedom.

CONTROVERSIES.

There is, we consider, a very improper delicacy manifested by many of our most gifted writers, concerning the propriety of being engaged in controversy with persons of their "own complexion." The reason that is often assigned against such a course is "that the peculiar situation of our people forbid it, and that it is impolitic that we should be divided in sentiment with regard to the means of our elevation, while we are so oppressed." From this doctrine we wholly dissent. Our silence on vital subjects relating to our welfare, will not create in us an unity of sentiment. The noble attributes of mind that we have received from our *Creator*, though immured in silence, will be constantly pressing forward and investigating the subject of our condition, in order that some new pathway may be discovered to procure our final deliverance? Then, why not put our thoughts into action, so that by comparing our ideas, we may assist each other in arriving at the desired object. If our views are irreconcilable with the views of others, let them come forward and correct them. In the conflict of mind with mind, much valuable light may be disseminated, and truth be established. If controversies arise on important subjects connected with our common welfare, and are conducted on honorable principles, we can never be degraded by their operation. The true means, or method that will lead unerringly to our elevation, is

a subject of sufficient magnitude to fire the bosom of the most exalted patriot,—employ the loftiest intellect, and inspire the noblest genius,—and it is a subject that embraces a theory about which the most honest minds may differ.

We assert that the principle is wrong that asserts that colored men may not be engaged in controversy with each other, without injuring their cause. So far as it fixes any thing, it asserts that we should remain silent and dumb in our present degradation.

If we may not be disputants about theories, then white men may also remain silent from the operation of the same principle.

What has kindled into a blaze that thirst for human improvement that has been the pride and glory of the last century, but *free discussion*?

What has produced the great revolution in the republic of letters and moral science, that are spreading their sunbeams through every valley, and illumining every continent, but *free discussion*?

And what has set in motion the mighty torrent of internal improvement that is now displacing the “organic structure of nature,” by uprooting our mountains, and filling our vallies, until by the application of steam, the foot-prints of the ancients appear to have departed,—*time* received a new impetus, and space overcome,—while *continents* seem to be but *peninsulas*, and *oceans* but *rivers*, but *free and unfettered discussion*? Nor has its enervating influence been less effective in the *moral* than the *physical* world. *Free discussion* is the grand lever of this age—the great moral engine, that is conveying messages of light into the mountains of error, ignorance and vice, throughout the globe, while tyranny and despotism shrink from its approach as from the glance of destiny. And has not *free discussion* conducted the moral reformation in our own country until the tyrant *Intemperance* has already bowed his haughty head in submission to the supreme will of a virtuous public sentiment? And lastly, has not the *dragon* heart of the beast

(domestic slavery,) been pierced by *free discussion*, until like *Proteus* it has assumed all forms, and like the *chameleon*, all colors. It is a monster of hideous size, and unmeasured strength. It has been fed from every hill and valley, and watered from every brook, and contains in its veins the blood of nations; yet *those veins* have been pricked, and blood-sprinkled garments are to be found throughout the land.

It has a heart in proportion to its size, and it is “made of flesh,” and independent of its huge ribs, its body is enveloped in a coat of mail (legislative enactments,) to render it impenetrable. Yet the *beast* has been wounded in its own *stable*,—the sword of truth penetrated through the outer network and scraped the heart,—the beast sickened, and made such convulsive throes, that it shook this nation to the centre. And if you will suffer us, what ruthless hand aimed at his destruction? We will tell you that it was *free discussion*. He was taken and tried for the commission of the *deed*, by the popular House of the American Congress, and condemned to *eternal silence*.

Now, if *free discussion* is capable of effecting so much good, why not let us use it, that we may transform our condition? Can we expect to achieve our improvement by silence with regard to the means of our elevation? Certainly not! It is absurd and foolish to indulge in such a vain hope. Let us use those formidable weapons that are conquering all other obstacles to human advancement, and uprooting every despotism? Let us freely discuss the measures and duty that should command our attention, and press them forward to perfection. Let us never be deterred by the complexion of an opponent. If we have a Pope, let us have a Galileo. The great contests between the intellectual giants in the American Senate never detracted from the nation's character at home, nor injured her fame abroad. Neither will our character or interests suffer from our freely canvassing such topics as relate to our future welfare. With us the complexion of an opponent becomes absorbed in the dignity of his nature. It is the sentiments he utters that should engage

our attention, not the *livery* in which nature has clothed him.

We hope that ghostly, silly, sickly excuse about *color* will be repudiated, and that those that have thoughts to give will bestow them to the public for our general good. Every noble effort to establish a grand principle, will not only enlist the attention of the community, but will elevate our general character,

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

This is a subject that awakens in our bosom such feelings of abhorrence that we are seldom prepared either to speak or write upon it with that dignified calmness that sober reason inculcates. If the recent remonstrances of our brethren in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia have not religiously, morally, and politically annihilated its professed claims on the benevolence and philanthropy of the American people, it is because language has been too feeble to perform its legitimate office, while truth has been crucified on the mountain of error, "amid the splendor its magnificence had attracted." Therefore we but little to add. As a people we have practiced the spirit of forbearance until it has ceased to be a virtue. The spirit of African Colonization is the spirit of aggression; directed against the foundation principle on which rests all our natural and inherent rights. We, therefore, ought to resist it boldly, not only in its incipient stage, but throughout its various transformations, with all the powers we have received from nature's God. Our *birthright* claims on American soil tower above the laws of *naturalization*. Its supporters have resorted to every subterfuge to decoy the *unwary*, and intrap the *thoughtless*. Every code, human and divine, has been ransacked to prove that we are *aliens*, to no purpose. The authority or principle that could rescind our native claims would depopulate our country, transplant our native hills—eject the solid rocks, and disinherit our "cloud-capt mountains." A glossary religion—a moral perfidy, and a chimerical philosophy have mingled their not less hateful emotions, with pity and contempt for our present condition, and have set

up their unhallowed claims for our removal from their pestilential atmosphere, while poets, orators, and statesmen have re-echoed the shout, and the very hills and dales ring with their deafening applaudits of the heaven-daring scheme. Nor are these all; time would fail us to enumerate the medley group of spirits that have been *baptized* in the pool of colonization. Some have threatened us with the scourge, while others have applied persecution. Some have predicted our extermination, while others have sung our funeral requiem. We heard it all and lamented over it. But it has not eradicated a single cord of our attachment to our native land. Every muscle and fibre inhales fresh vigor, like the cloud before the impending storm. There is no human power that can destroy it. Light from heaven illuminates, animates, and quickens it. It was implanted in our hearts by our Creator, and became interwoven in our affections, in the construction of our natures, and can only become extinct by the termination of our earthly existence. We have appealed again and again, from the decision of the friends of African Colonization, and they have not hearkened. We have protested, times without number, in private and public, and in our primary assemblies, and they have been deaf to our remonstrance. We now address you once more, and make known to you that our purposes are fixed,—that our determinations that were formed from the beginning are strengthened by time, and will remain unalterable. It is this, that "come what may to our persons," we feel bound under a solemn sense of duty to our God,—to ourselves, and to our suffering brethren in bonds to abide the issue, in our native land. We know you propose to banish us only "with our consent." We, therefore, feel bound to inform you, that that "consent" cannot be obtained. In soliciting our "consent" you ask for the sacrifice of a boon that ought never to be granted. It is no less than the sacrifice of our natural, national, and endearing attachments,—the sacrifice of a whole people on the altar of a hateful and "doubtful policy," to gratify your own ambition; and administer a balm to your sinful and in-

veterate prejudices. Therefore, whatever we may have to bestow, shall be given with grateful hearts, a free oblation on the *altar of patriotism*, for our country's good, the nation's honor, and the people's welfare. We kindly beseech you once more, if you love the spirit of liberty, and the free enjoyment of opinion for yourselves, leave us, *free*, to the possession of the same inestimable blessing.

THE SPIRIT OF COLONIZATION IN OHIO.

We copy from the "Colored American" an extract from an address published in the "Cleveland Observer," said to have emanated from our brethren in Ohio. We will not vouch for its authenticity. The general tenor of the address is such, as might enlist the feelings of the unguarded. With its general import we doubt not but many of our people would be highly pleased. If we judge from the closing paragraph, we believe the object of its author was deception. There may be some fretful minds among us that would be ready to yield to a system of *domestic* colonization, but we hope they are *few*. We have read in the various effusions of the Pittsburgh Correspondent of the "Colored American" similar sentiments. And we are much disappointed if even the obnoxious sentiments contained in the following paragraph does not meet with a hearty response in his own bosom.

"Now then, it devolves upon us to make every effort in our power to obtain education; it is a duty we owe unto the memory of our ancestors, a duty we owe unto ourselves, to our posterity, and to our God; and to discharge this duty we must act with union, energy and perseverance, we must concentrate ourselves together as much as possible. Therefore we would propose to the colored people of the United States to form themselves into a settlement in the United States, or on its borders, for these reasons: In our present condition, scattered around as we are through the country, we are incapable of acting either with union or energy; we are considered as an inferior race, our influence is not felt, and from present appearances we have every reason to believe that we shall be forced off to Africa; and in our present condition, we are unable to make any resistance; but let us all be united in one body, and then we may look upon

the machinations of our enemies with contempt; then too, our influence will be felt; and will do more towards breaking down prejudice in ten years, than the united efforts of all the philanthropists in the United States would in one hundred years."

The following article is from the work on the "Condition of Slaves," now being published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, "Oh! slavery thou art a bitter, bitter pill."

NARRATIVE AND TESTIMONY OF SARAH M. GRIMKE.

Miss Grimké was a daughter of the late Judge Grimké, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and sister of the late Hon. Thomas S. Grimké.

As I left my native state on account of slavery, and deserted the home of my fathers to escape the sound of the lash and the shrieks of tortured victims, I would gladly bury in oblivion the recollection of those scenes with which I have been familiar; but this may not, cannot be; they come over my memory like gory spectres, and implore me with resistless power, in the name of a God of mercy, in the name of a crucified Saviour, in the name of humanity; for the sake of the slaveholder, as well as the slaves, to bear witness to the horrors of the southern prison house. I feel impelled by a sacred sense of duty, by my obligations to my country, by sympathy for the bleeding victims of tyranny and lust, to give my testimony respecting the system of American slavery,—to detail a few facts, most of which came under my personal observation. And here I may premise, that the actors in these tragedies were all men and women of the highest respectability, and of the first families of South Carolina, and, with one exception, citizens of Charleston; and that their cruelties did not in the slightest degree affect their standing in society.

A handsome mulatto woman, about 18 or 20 years of age, whose independent spirit could not brook the degradation of slavery, was in the habit of running away; for this offence she had been repeatedly sent by her master and mistress to be whipped by the keeper of the Charleston workhouse. This had been done with such inhuman severity, as to lacerate her back in the most shocking manner; a finger could not be laid between the cuts. But the love of liberty was too strong to be annihilated by torture; and, as a last resort, she was whipped at several different times, and kept a close prisoner. A heavy iron collar, with three long prongs pro-

jecting from it, was placed round her neck, a strong and sound front tooth was extracted, to serve as a mark to describe her, in case of escape. Her sufferings at this time were agonizing; she could lie in no position but on her back, which was sore from scourgings, as I can testify, from personal inspection, and her only place of rest was the floor, on a blanket. These outrages were committed in a family where the mistress daily read the scriptures, and assembled her children for family worship. She was accounted, and was really, so far as alms-giving was concerned, a charitable woman, and tender hearted to the poor; and yet this suffering slave, who was the seamstress of the family, was continually in her presence, sitting in her chamber to sew, or engaged in her other household work, with her lacerated and bleeding back, her mutilated mouth, and heavy iron collar, without, so far as appeared, exciting any feelings of compassion.

A highly intelligent slave, who panted after freedom with ceaseless longings, made many attempts to get possession of himself. For every offence he was punished with extreme severity. At one time he was tied up by his hands to a tree, and whipped until his back was one gore of blood. To this terrible infliction he was subjected at intervals for several weeks, and kept heavily ironed while at his work. His master one day accused him of a fault, in the usual terms dictated by passion and arbitrary power; the man protested his innocence, but was not credited. He again repelled the charge with honest indignation. His master's temper rose almost to frenzy; and seizing a fork, he made a deadly plunge at the breast of the slave. The man being far superior in strength, caught his arm, and dashed the weapon on the floor. His master grasped at his throat, but the slave disengaged himself, and rushed from the apartment. Having made his escape, he fled to the woods; and after wandering about for many months, living on roots and berries, and enduring every hardship, he was arrested and committed to jail. Here he lay for a considerable time, allowed scarcely food enough to sustain life, whipped in the most shocking manner, and confined in a cell so loathsome, that when his master visited him, he said the stench was enough to knock a man down. The filth had never been removed from the apartment since the poor creature had been immured in it. Although a black man, such had been the effect of starvation and suffering, that his master declared he hardly recognised him—his complexion was so yellow, and his

hair, naturally thick and black, had become red and scanty; an infallible sign of long continued living on bad and insufficient food. Stripes, imprisonment, and the knowings of hunger, had broken his lofty spirit for a season; and, to use his master's own exulting expression, he was "as humble as a dog." After a time he made another attempt to escape, and was absent so long, that a reward was offered for him, *dead or alive*. He eluded every attempt to take him, and his master, despairing of ever getting him again, offered to pardon him if he would return home. It is always understood that such intelligence will reach the runaway; and accordingly, at the entreaties of his wife and mother, the fugitive once more consented to return to his bitter bondage. I believe this was the last effort to obtain his liberty. His heart became touched with the power of the gospel; and the spirit which no infliction could subdue, bowed at the cross of Jesus, and with the language on his lips—"the cup that my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" submitted to the yoke of the oppressor, and wore his chains in un murmuring patience till death released him. The master who perpetrated these wrongs upon his slave, was one of the most influential and honored citizens of South Carolina, and to his equals was bland, and courteous, and benevolent even to a proverb.

A slave who had been separated from his wife, because it best suited the convenience of his owner, ran away. He was taken up on the plantation where his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, then lived. His only object in running away was to return to her—no other fault was attributed to him. For this offence he was confined in the stocks *six weeks*, in a miserable hovel, not weather-tight. He received fifty lashes weekly during that time, was allowed food barely sufficient to sustain him, and when released from confinement, was not permitted to return to his wife. His master, although himself a husband and a father, was unmoved by the touching appeals of the slave, who entreated that he might only remain with his wife, promising to discharge his duties faithfully; his master continued inexorable, and he was torn from his wife and family. The owner of this slave was a professing Christian, in full membership with the church, and this circumstance occurred when he was confined to his chamber during his last illness.

A punishment dreaded more by the slaves than whipping, unless it is unusually severe, is one which was invented by a female acquaintance of mine in Charleston—I heard

her say so with much satisfaction. It is standing on one foot and holding the other in the hand. Afterwards it was improved upon, and a strap was contrived to fasten around the ankle, and pass around the neck; so that the least weight of the foot resting on the strap would choke the person. The pain occasioned by this unnatural position was great; and when continued, as it sometimes was, for an hour or more, produced intense agony. I heard this same woman say, that she had the ears of her waiting maid *slit* for some petty theft. This she told me in the presence of the girl, who was standing in the room. She often had the helpless victims of her cruelty severely whipped, not scrupling herself to wield the instrument of torture, and with her own hand inflict severe chastisement. Her husband was less inhuman than his wife, but he was often goaded on by her to acts of great severity. In his last illness I was sent for, and watched beside his death couch. The girl on whom he had so often inflicted punishment, haunted his dying hours; and when at length the king of terrors approached, he shrieked in utter agony of spirit, "oh, the blackness of darkness, the black imps, I can see them all around me—take them away!" and amid such exclamations he expired. These persons were of one of the first families in Charleston.

A friend of mine, in whose veracity I have entire confidence, told me that about two years ago, a woman in Charleston with whom I was well acquainted, had starved a female slave to death. She was confined in a solitary apartment, kept constantly tied and condemned to the slow and horrible death of starvation. This woman was notoriously cruel. To those who have read the narrative of James Williams I need only say, that the character of young Larrimore's wife is an exact description of this female tyrant, whose countenance was ever dressed in smiles when in the presence of strangers, but whose heart was as the nether millstone toward her slaves.

As I was travelling in the lower country in South Carolina, a number of years since, my attention was suddenly arrested by an exclamation of horror from the coachman, who called out, "look there, Miss Sarah, don't you see?"—I looked in the direction he pointed, and saw a human head stuck up on a high pole. On inquiry, I found that a runaway slave, who was outlawed, had been shot there, his head severed from his body, and put upon the public highway, as a terror to deter slaves from running away.

On a plantation in North Carolina, where

I was visiting, I happened one day, in my rambles, to step into a negro cabin; my compassion was instantly called forth by the object which presented itself. A slave, whose head was white with age, was lying in one corner of the hovel; he had under his head a few filthy rags, but the boards were his only bed; it was the depth of winter, and the wind whistled through every part of the dilapidated building—he opened his languid eyes when I spoke, and in reply to my question, "What is the matter?" he said, "I am dying of a cancer in my side."—As he removed the rags which covered the sore, I found that it extended half-round the body, and was shockingly neglected. I inquired if he had any nurse. "No, missey," was his answer, "but de people (the slaves) very kind to me, dey often steal time to run and see me and fetch me something to eat; if they did not, I might starve." The master and mistress of this man, who had been worn out in their service, were remarkable for their intelligence, and their hospitality knew no bounds towards those who were of their own grade in society: the master had for some time held the highest military office in North Carolina, and not long previous to the time of which I speak, was the Governor of the State.

On a plantation in South Carolina, I witnessed a similar case of suffering—an aged woman suffering under an incurable disease in the same miserably neglected situation. The "owner" of this slave was proverbially kind to her negroes; so much so, that the planters in the neighborhood said she spoiled them, and set a bad example which might produce discontent among the surrounding slaves; yet I have seen this woman tremble with rage, when her slaves displeased her, and heard her use language to them which could only be expected from an inmate of Bridewell; and have known her in a gust of passion send a favorite slave to the workhouse to be severely whipped.

Another fact occurs to me. A young woman about eighteen, stated some circumstances relative to her young master, which were thought derogatory to his character; whether true or false, I am unable to say; she was threatened with punishment, but persisted in affirming that she had only spoken the truth. Finding her incorrigible, it was concluded to send her to the Charleston workhouse and have her whipt; she pleaded in vain for a commutation of her sentence, not so much because she dreaded the actual suffering, as because her delicate mink shrunk from the shocking exposure of her person to the eyes

of brutal and licentious men; she declared to me that death would be preferable; but her entreaties were vain, and as there was no means of escaping but by running away, she resorted to it as a desperate remedy, for her timid nature never could have braved the perils necessarily encountered by fugitive slaves, had not her mind been thrown into a state of despair.—She was apprehended after a few weeks, by two slave-catchers, in a deserted house, and as it was late in the evening they concluded to spend the night there. What inhuman treatment she received from them has never been revealed. They tied her with cords to their bodies, and supposing they had secured their victim, soon fell into a deep sleep, probably rendered more profound by intoxication and fatigue; but the miserable captive slumbered not; by some means she disengaged herself from her bonds, and again fled through the lone wilderness. After a few days she was discovered in a wretched hut, which seemed to have been long uninhabited; she was speechless; a raging fever consumed her vitals, and when a physician saw her, he said she was dying of a disease brought on by over fatigue; her mother was permitted to visit her, but ere she reached her, the damps of death stood upon her brow, and she had only the sad consolation of looking on the death-struck form and convulsive agonies of her child.

A beloved friend in South Carolina, the wife of a slaveholder, with whom I often mingled my tears, when helpless and hopeless we deplored together the horrors of slavery, related to me some years since the following circumstance.

On the plantation adjoining her husband's, there was a slave of pre-eminent piety. His master was not a professor of religion, but the superior excellence of this disciple of Christ was not unmarked by him, and I believe he was so sensible of the good influence of his piety that he did not deprive him of the few religious privileges within his reach. A planter was one day dining with the owner of this slave, and in the course of conversation observed, that all profession of religion among slaves was mere hypocrisy. The other asserted a contrary opinion, adding, I have a slave who I believe would rather die than deny his Saviour. This was ridiculed, and the master urged to prove the assertion. He accordingly sent for this man of God, and peremptorily ordered him to deny his belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. The slave pleaded to be excused, constantly affirming that he would rather die than deny the Redeemer, whose blood

was shed for him. His master, after vainly trying to induce obedience by threats, had him terribly whipped. The fortitude of the sufferer was not to be shaken; he nobly rejected the offer of exemption from further chastisement at the expense of destroying his soul, and this blessed martyr *died in consequence of this severe infliction*. Oh, how bright a gem will this victim of irresponsible power be, in that crown which sparkles on the Redeemer's brow; and that many such will cluster there, I have not the shadow of a doubt.

Fort Lee, Bergen Co., (N. J.) Third mo. 26th.

SARAH M. GRIMKE.

We recommend the following communication to the attention of our readers, both for its enlarged spirit, and pacific character. We have been accustomed to hear objections stated against our "banner," because it was too broad, but our correspondent not only embraces it as a whole, but requests that we append to it the "Heaven derived cause of peace." We will append a few notes by way of explanation as respects the action of our society. We hope T. S. C. will often contribute to our columns, and also feel the necessity of joining our society, so that he may be able to further the cause he has so much at heart.

For the National Reformer.

Being somewhat interested in the cause of truth and humanity, and connected with two of those societies whose object is the deliverance of them "that are in bonds" out of the hands of the oppressor of men, I feel a liberty in addressing to you a few lines on a subject, which has for some time past claimed my attentive consideration.

On receiving the first number of your paper I ascertained officially the objects of your paper,—to promote "Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty." Why is "Peace"⁽¹⁾ not included in the number? Surely it is as important as either of the others. Education!

One man there was, who never had a dozen thoughts
In all his life. The word Philosophy he never heard,
Or Science—never heard of Liberty, Necessity,
Or laws of gravitation. * * *
Beyond his native vale he never looked:
But thought the visual line that girt him round,
The world's extreme. He lived—
Lived where his father lived—died where he died—
Lived happy—and died happy—and was saved.

Temperance!⁽²⁾ a man may be temperate, and yet commit sin of almost every kind—chain and task his brother because "guilty of

a skin not colored like his own,"—and may never enter the kingdom of Heaven. Economy! it may be possessed with the same result; and Liberty may be the blessing of the man who is the slave of vice.

But let me not be understood as being opposed to your objects, as expressed in your opening address. No! far from it. I only wish to show that others are equally desirable. I hope the is not far distant when all may enjoy a full education, that the colored man may rise to that station in society and in the world, which he was destined to fill. Nothing worldly will tend as much to raise him up from that degradation into which he has been placed by the ruthless hand of "the spoiler." When the question was brought before one of the Societies of which I am a member—"The Junior Anti-Slavery Society"—whether it was expedient for colored persons to join Anti-Slavery Societies, I recorded my vote in the affirmative, because I believed it would be one of the best means of promoting their moral and intellectual improvement. I have always been a friend and supporter of the lectures instituted by that society for the benefit of the colored people—the first delivered in this city, I believe, during the present contest. I wish that you may succeed in your determination of promoting *Education* among your brethren.

I hope that they may be *temperate* "in all things;" not only in regard to their drinking, but also in respect to their eating, and in every thing which they do. Be temperate in joy and in sorrow, ever remembering that "It is better to go to the house of mourning than go to the house of feasting, for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better."

I hope that *Economy* may be among their other virtues—that they may remember from whence all their gifts come—and that they may not, like the prodigal son, spend their substance "in riotous living;" and that they may lay up treasures in the world to come. And lastly, I hope that the time is not far distant when the "dark spot" upon my country's banner may be wiped off—that my country may be truly free, and that *universal liberty* may be proclaimed "throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

But with all these there is "one thing wanting." They must adopt the principles of the "Prince of Peace,"⁽³⁾ when they are tempted, they must answer not the tempter—when they are reviled they must revile not again—when they are smitten on one cheek they must turn unto the smiter "the other also." In all their actions, in their every

day's communication, they should be of a peaceable disposition: resisting not evil, but trusting to that power which is Infinite, to lead them through every trial, and preserve them through every difficulty. Ever remembering that they will not be forsaken, if they walk in the paths of the beloved of God.

By cultivating this peaceful disposition, they will be preserved from all the snares of the wicked. The spirit of war is the commencement of almost every crime. Cain slew his brother, and became an outcast on the face of the earth. And he who in this day of light shall refuse to obey the laws of Jehovah, will be cast into "outer darkness." If peace was the inmate of every bosom, there would be no slavery. It is the beginning of "all righteousness." It is the pathway of many virtues. It will lead to the overthrow of all "uncleanness" and the "world's lusts."

Oh! my brethren, crush the many headed monster which destroys all peace in the minds of its votary. Overthrow this monstrous evil, and great will be your reward.

Heed not the voice of men. Popular opinion may have a great influence: popular will may have a great effect: but neither will have the least influence or effect upon him who has an eye to the immutable decrees of Justice, and who wishes that Truth may have her righteous sway. Oh! let that be your guide, and be not ashamed to follow the Redeemer's example. But pursue the even tenor of your way, until at length you may enter that kingdom prepared for the righteous in every age of the world—that kingdom into which sorrow and misery never enter—that kingdom which is the home of the spirits of just men made perfect, and whose sole king and judge is Him whose power is infinite, and whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain.

And I would ask, in conclusion, cannot the agent⁽⁴⁾ of the A. M. R. S. be instructed to advocate "Peace, Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty."

T. S. C.

NOTES.—(1) The reason why "Peace" was not included, was that the Society could not agree upon the principles on which it should be based, and the doctrines that should be maintained in its support. They all agreed as to the necessity of promoting the principles of peace, and have made provision for its future adoption, as one of the cardinal principles of our society; as soon as they can become united in a method of advocacy,

which will be seen by a reference to the 7th article of the constitution: "The funds of this society shall be appropriated to the diffusion of light on the subjects advocated, and its constitution may be *altered from time to time so as to keep pace with the great object of moral reform.*" So impressed were the board of the necessity of promoting this great principle, among our brethren, that in their circular of invitation, the first annual meeting, in August 1857, they used the following language: "We wish you to come prepared to support the cause of *Education, Temperance, Economy, Peace, and Universal Liberty.*" One of the addresses at said anniversary was on the subject of peace, from the following resolution: "Resolved, that non-resistance to the spirit of physical aggression is consistent with reason." The society has at every annual meeting adopted resolutions on the subject of peace. The following we take from the last minutes, on account of its being very definite. "Resolved, that the practice of the principles of peace, as exemplified by our *blessed Redeemer* while on earth, is the most proper example for our people to follow."

(2) If T. S. C. will read the following extract from our address to the "American people," he will discover that the cardinal principles of our society are founded on Christian principles, and capable of a very different interpretation from the one he has given them, viz:

"We shall advocate the cause of peace, believing that whatever tends to the destruction of human life, is at variance with the precepts of the Gospel, and at enmity with the well being of individuals as well as of society. We shall endeavor to promote education, with sound morality, not that we shall become 'learned and mighty,' but 'great and good.' We shall advocate temperance in all things, and total abstinence from all alcoholic liquors. We shall advocate a system of *economy*, not only because luxury is injurious to individuals, but because its practice exercises an influence on society, which in its very nature is sinful. We shall advocate universal liberty, as the inalienable right of every individual born in the world, and a right which cannot be taken away by government itself, without an unjust exercise of power."

And for a further illustration of our principles, we refer T. S. C. to the articles under the heads of *Universal Liberty* and *Economy*, published in the 3d and 4th numbers of this paper, pages 34, 5 and 6—42, 3 and 4—51 and 2. He will there observe that we have maintained those principles in the manner he so much desires.

(3) We believe that the peace principles maintained by our correspondent are strictly correct, because they are in accordance with the scriptures, and that it is the bounden duty of all that profess to have adopted the "spirit of the meek and lowly Redeemer," and to walk in his steps, to maintain them in both letter and spirit. We also believe that those principles strike at the root of all evil, and are capable of effecting not only the *moral*, but the *spiritual* regeneration of man. They occupy a loftier summit, and are calculated to exert a nobler, holier, and happier influence on the present, and eternal destiny of the human family than our society ever aimed to promote. Yet learned and pious *divines* differ on this subject. The *specific* object of our society is MORAL ACTION. We profess to be governed by the admitted doctrines of Christianity, so far as regards man's duty to man. We have left the adjustment of questions of theology with the church; hence, in our prospectus we assert, that "we do not lay claim to the establishment of any new principles, but only advocate the practical fulfilment, and universal application of those that are already acknowledged by the friends of equal rights and impartial justice." The cause of peace is interwoven, in every effort to promote our happiness; though it was not fixed as a cardinal doctrine in the constitution of our society, yet we have endeavored to make it keep pace with the others. We have left this subject just where the Franckean Synod of the evangelical Lutheran church of Onondaga county, N. Y., has left it, a report of which will be found in No. 2, page 25. We copy the preamble: "That whereas, this subject has only for a few years past occupied the public attention, yet your committee feel deeply impressed with its importance, and the

necessity of its consideration. However, they are constrained to acknowledge that they have not been able to give it that investigation which it demands; but do not hesitate to recommend it to the Christian public, and especially to our ministers and members, for we feel sensible that the millennial day cannot come in whilst wars and commotions are filling our land."

(4) T. S. C. asks "Cannot the agent of the A. M. R. S. be instructed to advocate Peace." We think that such a course would not be advisable, until the society settles more definitely the principles that ought to be maintained. If he were to deliver lectures on the subject of peace on his own responsibility, he might do great good, and leave the society free from the responsibility of the doctrines he maintained. These are our own views, for which the society is not responsible.

ITEMS.

The synod of the Presbyterian Church has adjourned from West Chester, to meet in the 2d African Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. They have also appointed a committee to examine into the condition of the colored members of the Presbyterian Church in the city and its vicinity.

THE "COLORED AMERICAN" has suspended its publication for two or three weeks to make new arrangements for printing. The proprietors intend getting a new press, so that they can employ colored apprentices.

ANNIVERSARIES.—The season for anniversaries draws nigh, and we hope the cause of humanity will receive a fresh impulse. As many of our friends will be travelling to and from these great meetings, we would respectfully suggest the propriety of taking statistics of the force of prejudice on their routes. Last year prejudice from Philadelphia to New York, was just the value of slavery from there to Baltimore. Colored men were charged for fare \$2 25, and white men \$3. The former had the privilege of licking the crumbs at half price, after all the boat hands were done. If equality had been established, the proprietors

would have cleared 25 per cent. on every colored man that travelled. We have not a doubt but that the proprietors of those lines were losers to the amount of \$1000 each, by prejudice and slavery.

A NEW IDEA.—The American Congress in the recent law for taking a new census, allows no distinction to be made between the free colored and slave population. The nation is doubtless getting ashamed of her statistical records of "human chattels." Alvan Stewart, in his speech at the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, said, let us but succeed and make out a *case* from legislative records and get the same endorsed by Congress, and slavery will be destroyed. Probably some "northern dough-face" with "southern feelings," fearing the result of that *case*, has made a motion for the present law, that one of the great legalized *items* might be destroyed.

CORRESPONDENTS.

We return our thanks to Miss Susan Wilson, for the very spirited effusions in the poetical department of our last numbers.—Also to Amana: we hope they will continue to furnish our paper with contributions on the important subject of moral reform.

CORRECTION.

The Emancipator is in error as to the gifted author of those beautifully descriptive lines on the "Painter of Seville:" they were not written by a pupil of Miss Crandall's Seminary, but by a distinguished philanthropist of this state.

DELEGATES.

The following named persons were appointed by the 'American Moral Reform Board' delegates to attend the sixth annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, viz: Rev. Chas. W. Gardner, Rev. Daniel A. Payne, William Whipper, Robert Purvis.

We are indebted to our friend John F. Cooke, of Washington city, for the following address and constitution, and which we with much pleasure insert in our columns:—

The Address and Constitution of the Union Benevolent Association of the People of Color of the City of Washington.

ADDRESS.

Whereas, it is one of the great and fundamental principles of our holy religion to do unto all men as we would that they should do unto us, by loving our neighbor as ourselves, and thus manifest our confidence in the great author of our existence and our religion. The principles of charity, benevolence, and brotherly kindness being some of the great principles thereof—principles which flow from love to God, and extending to all mankind. If these are our principles and the precepts of our religion, let us exemplify the same by our exertions in aiding the poor, the sick, the fatherless, the widow and the distressed, especially those of our own people; believing that we cannot exert ourselves in a better cause than to contribute our mites in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, relieving the distressed, and thus carrying out some of the great principles of the benign religion of Jesus, which is comprehended in this, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," for love is the fulfilling of the law of God; for if we say that we love God, and do not manifest the same towards our brethren, our religion is vain. As poor as we all are, many of us are able to contribute a mite to help a poor and deserving fellow-creature. Let us then, as far as in our power lies, endeavor to do good unto all men, especially those of our race, for if we "have this world's goods and seeth our brother have need, and shut up our bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" Let us then not love in word and tongue only, but in deed and in truth. It is not enough for us to say we are sorry, and pity the poor and destitute, unless we manifest our sympathy by contributing to their alleviation. "If a brother or sister be naked, or destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled, notwithstanding you give them not those things which are needful for the body, what doth it profit?" It profiteth nothing. Let us then contribute our mites, and by so doing, manifest our faith by our works. Let us, moreover, not turn a deaf ear to the cries of the poor, for they are numerous and deserving; bearing in mind this admonition, "whoso stoppeth his ears at the cries of the poor, he also shall cry himself, and shall not be heard." But on the other hand, "He that hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord, and that which he hath given, will he repay him again." Let us one

and all, then, embrace, and go on in this work of charity, and labor of love, and "Do not get weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not." We need never be afraid of doing too much in this good cause, for it is "The liberal soul that shall be made fat." It is "he who soweth bountifully, that shall reap also bountifully." It is "he that watereth, that shall be watered also himself." We must make some sacrifice in doing good, if we wish to please God. Let us then put our shoulders to the wheels; let us help ourselves; then will our friends be willing to help us; then will we elevate our character, even in the estimation of our enemies. As the cause of charity and benevolence commends itself to all mankind, we trust there are none who will draw back, or decline to do all they can in this good cause. Faith, Hope and Charity are the three great principles of our religion; but the greatest is Charity. We therefore call upon all our fellow-citizens to co-operate with us in this good cause; as in union there is strength. Let us sacrifice our principles of sectarian bigotry upon the altar of charity, and let us come together and form one great and united avalanche in the cause of benevolence, to aid the poor and destitute in our community. We therefore invite all, as they love God and their fellow men, to unite with us in this work, and sustain an association for so laudable a purpose as benevolence. Union and order being essential in the prosecution of every good cause, we therefore subscribe, and invite all our fellow-citizens to subscribe to, and sustain the following

CONSTITUTION.

Article 1.

This Society shall be known by the name of the Union Benevolent Association, for the relief of the poor people of color of the City of Washington, D. C.

Article 2.

Any respectable person may become a member, by subscribing to this Constitution, and paying the sum of twenty-five cents on joining, and a further sum of twenty-five cents per quarter, so long as they continue members.

Article 3.

The object of this Society shall be to aid in relieving or contributing to the necessities of the deserving poor of our race in this city, especially during the cold and inclement seasons, in such a manner as the Board of Managers may best determine, and the funds of the Association will admit.

Article 4.

Section 1. The officers of this Society shall be a President, six Vice Presidents, (one for each Ward,) two Secretaries, and a Treasurer, also a committee of two persons for each Ward in the city, all of whom, or as many as they themselves shall designate, shall constitute a Board of Managers, to transact the business of the Association during the recess of its regular quarterly meetings, to be elected annually, on, or from the first Monday in March, in each year.

Section 2. The President, Vice Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer, shall do the respective duties usually assigned such officers in such institutions. And the committees for each Ward, with their respective Vice Presidents, shall in conjunction with their duties as a general committee or Board of Managers, be special committees for their respective Wards, who shall solicit donations, and make their returns to the Treasurer; seek out and report the condition of the poor of color, in their respective Wards, to the Board of Managers, who shall have power to contribute to their relief in proportion and as far as the funds of the Association will admit.

Section 3. The Committee or Board of Managers shall have power to purchase such necessary things as the poor may need, and cause the same to be distributed to the best possible advantage, among the necessitated and deserving of the people of color in this city.

Section 4. They shall also have power to cause to be collected monies or goods, by receiving donations from benevolent individuals, churches, fairs or societies, and deposite the same into the Treasury for the furtherance of the objects of this Association.

Section 5. The General Committee or Board of Managers shall have power to fill any vacancy that may occur in their body.

Section 6. The assistance afforded by the Ward Committees, shall be in necessary articles, and never in money, except when relief cannot be otherwise effected. They shall use their utmost endeavors to ascertain the real character and true situation of every person they visit, and report thereof to the managers. They should first visit every person whom they design to aid, and shall relieve all persons with the strictest impartiality, and without any reference to their religious opinions.

Section 7. The Board of Managers shall have power to appoint female committees for each Ward, whose duty it shall be to visit sick and necessitated females, and ascertain their circumstances, and report their condition to the managers for relief.—They shall also

solicit donations, and make their returns to the Treasurer promptly.

Section 8. The Board of Managers shall render a report of their doings to the Association quarterly; also, cause to be published, an annual report for the satisfaction of the public.

Article 5.

Section 1. The annual meeting shall be on the first Monday in March, in each year. And the regular quarterly meetings of the Association shall be on the first Mondays in March, June, September and December, in each year, at such time and place as the managers may appoint, due notice being given in all the colored churches, and the public be respectfully invited to attend.

Section 2. At which meetings the quarterly reports will be read, contributions received, and such other exercises as may be deemed expedient for the promotion of the objects of this Association.

Article 6.

The Board of Managers shall have power to make such By-Laws as they may deem expedient and proper, from time to time, for their better government, not repugnant to the principles and objects of this Constitution.

Article 7.

This Constitution may be altered or amended at any regular quarterly meeting of the society, a majority of two-thirds being in favor of such alteration or amendment.

GOOD NEWS FROM THE WEST INDIES.

The Baptist missionaries, 15 in number, in their annual convention, held in Montego Bay, Feb. 1, adopted and signed an address to the Governor, praying him not to resign his office until the benevolent intentions of parliament are accomplished. They say:

"In the declaration which has been made to your Excellency by the people of our charge of willingness to labor whenever treated with the consideration due to human beings, and for just and reasonable wages, we also most cordially unite. We assure your Excellency that we have scarcely met with a single instance among the thousands under our pastoral care, the diseased and infirm excepted, in which an indisposition to industry has been the result of the great gift of entire freedom. On the contrary, we state it as our decided opinion from extensive personal observation and experience, that at no former period of the history of the colony were the peasantry so much disposed to labor, or in the absence of petty annoyances and ill treatment, ever

half so cheerful, contented, and happy. So far from having manifested any disposition to take any advantage of the late change in their social condition to revenge the injuries of the past, or even to justify the least suspicion of hostility as the effect of more recent injuries and oppressions, and which in some districts have assumed all the aspects of a conspiracy to goad the multitude into acts of insubordination, they have manifested, both in expression and conduct, a degree of submission and forbearance which nothing but the benign influence of Christianity could ever have inspired.

(Signed)

James M. Phillipo	Samuel Oughton
Joshua Tinson	John Clark
Thomas Burchell	David Day
William Knibb	Jonas Bailrod
Thomas F. Abbot	James Reed
Walter Dendy	John Clarke
Benjamin B. Dexter	Henry C. Taylor
John Hutchins.	

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

We have, at length obtained definite accounts of the entire abolition of Slavery and the apprenticeship in the British colony of South Africa. The Commercial Advertiser of Friday, gives a summary of news from the Grahamstown Journal of December 13th.

"The final emancipation of the slaves, or apprentices, took place in the colony on the 2d of December; and the Journal says that it passed off quietly and with comparatively little notice. Most of the apprentices in the neighborhood of Graham's Town, assembled on the night of the 1st, in the Wesleyan chapel, and employed the last remaining hours of their servitude in religious exercises. As the hour of midnight approached they all went on their knees to prayers, and when the clock struck twelve, arose and sung the hymn, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.'

On the afternoon of the 2d, they again assembled at the chapel, where an abundant repast was provided for them by their late masters, after partaking of which they were addressed by the Rev. Mr. Shaw; and by one of their own number."

The Essex Register has the Cape Town Commercial Advertiser to Jan. 26th, which says:

"Sir George Napier, the new Governor, had happily begun his administration, and it was expected that the colony would grow more and more prosperous. In reference to the final emancipation of the slaves in the colony, during the past year, the Advertiser says,—

'Perfect tranquillity has taught us that justice is politically safe—that there is no danger in doing right.' The great increase in foreign trade, and in the number of vessels entering Table Bay, had given occasion for a 'Commercial Wharf Company,' for landing and shipping goods."

For the National Reformer.

At a meeting of the managers of the City Moral Reform Society, Nov. 4, 1839, held at the house of John D. Oliver, Wagner's alley, Daniel Colley was appointed Chairman, and Ralph Smith, Secretary.

John D. Oliver, Daniel Colley, and Edwin H. Coates were appointed a committee to make arrangements for holding the annual meeting in April next.

Abraham Morton and Hetty Burr were elected members of the Society.

Resolved, That the committee of arrangement call a meeting of the Board at such time and place as they deem expedient.

Adjourned. RALPH SMITH, Secretary.

April 12th.

The Board met at the house of Daniel Colley, Blackberry Alley:—present, John P. Burr, Daniel Colley, James M. White, and Ralph Smith.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read, and approved; Daniel Colley in the Chair.

The Board proceeded to the consideration of the several reports made by the committees on Temperance, Education, and Economy; it was resolved that the same be referred to the respective committees, with a request that the same be revised, and be by them submitted to the ensuing quarterly meeting of the Society.

Resolved, That the committee on Economy be requested to add to their report a statement of facts, setting forth the practicability of establishing an Institution wherein might be taught the useful branches of industry in conjunction with the rudiments of a common education.

Resolved, That in addition to the reading of the reports of the committees at the ensuing meeting of the Society, and the address of Joshua Coffin on Universal Liberty, Andrew Harris be requested to address the audience on such subject connected with moral reform as he may select.

Resolved, That the Recording Secretary be authorised to procure suitable books for recording the minutes and other transactions of the Society.

Resolved, That the treasurer be directed to enter into an obligation in writing, binding himself personally to be responsible for the amount of money belonging to the Society in his hands, and for the faithful performance of his duty while in office.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the association to compensate the recording Secretary for his services.

Adjourned to meet again at this place on the first day of May next, at 8 o'clock in the evening.

RALPH SMITH, Secretary.

Philadelphia, May 1st, 1839.

A meeting of the Managers of the City Moral Reform Society was held at the house of Daniel Colley, Blackberry alley. Daniel Colley in the Chair. Present, John D. Oliver, John P. Burr, Daniel Colley, and Ralph Smith.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, and approved, it was reported to the meeting that the Treasurer had executed the obligation required of him by the resolution of last meeting.

Bills were presented for rent of room and purchase of books, amounting together to two dollars and seventy-five cents, and having been found correct, payment was authorized, and the Chairman directed to draw an order on the Treasurer for the amount due on the same.

The report on Economy was received, and directed to be revised and prepared for publication.

The Chairman was requested to prepare the proper notices, and make the necessary arrangements for the next quarterly meeting of the society.

Adjourned.

RALPH SMITH, Secretary.

To the President and Members of the City Moral Reform Society.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Your Committee, to whom was referred the subject of Economy, in presenting their Report request leave to claim your attention, whilst they point out what they believe to be the ground-work or base, on which to rest the system, where may be taught that Economy which promotes Virtue, Liberty, and Independence.

You are aware, fellow-members, that the greater portion of those who are the objects of your solicitude, are of that class who depend for their support on productive labor, and, therefore, any measures adopted for their benefit, which furnishes not the means where-in their industry can be exercised, so as to

produce, by honest application, the support of their animal existence, together with the conveniences and comforts of life, no matter how pure the philanthropy that fostered, or how liberal may have been the time and means appropriated for the sustaining such measures, they will fail of producing any great amount of good.

Those who claim your sympathies are surrounded by circumstances, which tend, as it were, to crush them mentally and physically to the earth, from the power of which, they cannot extricate themselves without your aid.

What ought to be done, fellow-reformers, in a case such as this?

For their benefit, you have made great exertions; you have had addresses delivered, you have had competent persons engaged to deliver Lectures, wherein has been explained the properties and effects of light and heat of electricity. The admirable arrangement and adaptation of man's material system, the human frame illustrated, the advantage and duty of temperance advocated, associations for mutual improvement and moral instruction recommended, the beauty and harmonious economy of the heavenly bodies, which, under the direction of the divine hand, run their course rejoicing, imparting health and life to the whole creation, have been set forth. Some of your brethren and sisters have listened with admiration and wonder to these great truths; yet daily experience taught them that but a small portion of the rays of the sun of true benevolence had reached them; common sense instructed their understandings that the early and the latter rain, were no great blessing to them who possessed no part of the soil, and that though the hand of the diligent maketh rich, still in order to realize to advantage the suggestion, the diligent man must be furnished a means for the employment of his hands a little nearer than the nearest planet.

All of us must acknowledge, fellow-members, that though great have been the sacrifices of time and pecuniary means in the cause of reform, degradation, ignorance, and their inseparable companions, sin and suffering, still abound.

Why, you may inquire, should this be the case? The answer is at hand. The business has been commenced at the wrong end; an attempt is made to raise and put up the roof of the building, but the foundation is not laid. Labor, the material of which to make the corner stone, is not furnished to the workmen by the master builders. Labor, the material of which contains the principles which forms the base on which rests the true wealth of individuals or communities, has been overlooked,

forgetting that to compel men to stand all day idle in the market place, is not much less an evil than to withhold from the laborer his hire. How can we mentally improve,—how can we induce the person to be moral, to keep within the pale of law, who, from want, is driven into that state of necessity which knows no law. With whom, through untoward circumstances, nature's first principle, self preservation, is the paramount object. It never can be the case, in the views of your committee, that a happy state of society, or wise system of economy, should exist, until the proper means are applied. These are embraced in wisely explained theories, on all moral and useful subjects, and the means furnished for the procurement of subsistence by honest employment; the first has and should be done, but we should not have left the other undone. Still your committee are cheered with the prospect that the whole power of moral reformers will be combined, eventually, to produce the greatest amount of good to the greatest number.

Come forth then, fellow-members of the City Moral Reform Society; reflect on the thousands of the objects of your solicitude, without the opportunity of being instructed in the trades, or various branches of the arts, without even a portion of earth's surface whereon to toil for bread. Many of you stand as it were, on an eminence. Look, then, on the living, moving, multitude. The waves of the sea of prejudice ready to overwhelm them, their feet clogged, and their course impeded. They are your brethren and sisters; in their breast is the latent seed, which, if countenanced and encouraged, will spring forth, and (under the blessing of Him who, of one blood, made all his rational creatures) produce fruit, to manifest that they are regenerated and restored. Reach forth then your hand, you that enjoy privileges to which they are as yet strangers. Fear not nor be discouraged, because your numbers are few, compared with the many who need your help. Remember, that each one redeemed, as they ascend the bank of safety, will arrange themselves in your ranks, and swell the army of deliverance, until your increased numbers will enable you to accomplish almost all you desire, and put you in possession of an approving conscience, man's best companion.

ROBERT PURVIS,
JAMES M. WHITE, } Committee.
RALPH SMITH,

At the annual meeting of the Philadelphia City Moral Reform Society, held at the Lecture Room of the Second Presbyterian

Church, April 1st, 1839, the Meeting was organized by an appropriate prayer by the Rev. Chas. W. Gardner, the President, after which the Constitution was read by the Secretary, and persons invited to come forward and join the Society. The standing committees then severally reported upon the cardinal principles of the Society, viz: *Temperance, Education, Economy, and Universal Liberty*, which was referred to the Board of Managers for such disposition as in their judgment would best tend to promote the objects of the association. The President delivered an address, intended as an opening address. Mr. Peck then recited a Poem, which was referred to the Board; when, on motion, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Mr. Gardner and Mr. Peck for their very able and valuable productions.

Resolved, That the present officers remain in office the following year.

A member of the Society gave \$5 00 as a donation.

Collection for defraying the expenses of the meeting \$2 39. N. W. DEPEE, Sec.

Philadelphia, May 6th, 1839.

At a Quarterly meeting of the City Moral Reform Society, held at the Session room of the Second Presbyterian Church, in St. Mary Street, in absence of the President, one of the Vice Presidents took the Chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Rhodes, when the Secretary read the minutes of the preceding meeting and the Constitution.

The Chairman then invited persons friendly to the principles of the Society to become members, when a number came forward and subscribed to the Constitution.

On motion,

Resolved, That the orator proceed to deliver his address, which was done.

The Committee on Economy then presented a report, which was read and adopted; after which it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be tendered James P. Clay for the able address delivered on Temperance, and that he be requested to hand over to the Board of Managers a copy for publication.

A collection was then taken up, and the meeting adjourned.

N. W. DEPEE, Sec.

Sixth Annual Meeting of the N. England Anti-Slavery Convention.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will hold its sixth annual meeting, in the city of Boston, on TUESDAY, the 28th of

Monday next, and will continue, probably, three days. The objects of this Convention, and its advantages in giving an impulse to the cause of emancipation, are well known. Distinguished advocates of the cause, from other sections of the country, are expected to be present, to aid in the deliberations. And as it was never more desirable or important than now, that the Convention should be well attended, it is earnestly hoped that local societies throughout New England will see that they are represented on the occasion by large delegations.

Signed in behalf of their respective societies:

MAINE.

William Smyth, *Cor. Secretary*.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

E. E. Cummings, *President*.

N. P. Rogers, *Cor. Secretary*.

VERMONT.

E. D. Barber, *Cor. Secretary*.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Francis Jackson, *President*.

Wm. L. Garrison, *Cor. Secretary*.

RHODE ISLAND.

Peleg Clarke, *President*.

Elias Smith, *Rec. Secretary*.

CONNECTICUT.

John T. Norton, *President*.

P. Canfield, *Cor. Secretary*.

Sixth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The sixth anniversary will be held, with Divine permission, in the city of New York, on Tuesday, the 7th day of May next. The public exercises will be in BROADWAY TABERNACLE, and commence at ten o'clock, and several addresses delivered by brethren from different parts of the Union. A meeting for business will be held in the Lecture Room of the Tabernacle, in the afternoon, after the public meeting, and be continued, probably, for one or two subsequent days.

All the auxiliaries are requested to send delegates, and members of Anti-Slavery Societies, throughout the country, are invited to attend the anniversary.

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

LEWIS TAPPAN,

LA ROY SUNDERLAND,

Committee of Arrangements.

Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

At the Quarterly Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, held on Wed-

nesday, April 10th, the following resolution was passed.

Resolved, That we pledge to the American Anti-Slavery Society, (for the ensuing year,) \$1,000; to the Infant School for Colored Children \$100; to the Samaritan Asylum for Colored Orphans, \$100.

The meeting was unusually large, and the above resolution, after eliciting much discussion, was passed by a large majority.

A vote was likewise passed, that this Society appoint four delegates to attend the Convention of American Women, to be held in Philadelphia, in May.

It is hoped that all our sister Societies in the State will be prompt in sending delegates to represent them at this Meeting.

L. GOULD, *Rec. Sec'y.*

Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society will be holden in this city on Wednesday, the 15th of May next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will be continued two days. An abstract of the Annual Report will be read, and addresses delivered by distinguished gentlemen from different parts of the Union.

An Anti-Slavery meeting will be holden in this city on Tuesday evening previous to the anniversary, at which an address may be expected.

We earnestly desire that every town in the State may be fully represented.

JOHN T. NORTON,

D. BURGESS,

S. S. COWLES,

P. CANFIELD,

Committee of Arrangements.

Hartford, April 16, 1839.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

The annual meeting of this Society will be held at the Baptist meeting house, in the village of Norristown, on the 20th of Fifth month, (May) at 10 o'clock, A. M. Auxiliary Societies throughout Eastern Pennsylvania are earnestly requested to appoint delegates, and see that they are in attendance.

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.

New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.

New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.

" Burlington—Robert Taylor.

Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.

" Columbia—Stephen Smith.

" Harrisburg—Janus C. Morell.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society---W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 8.

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL, 1839.

VOL. I.

"THE FREE COLORED POPULATION OF THESE UNITED STATES."

THE legalized distinction, that separates this class of citizens from the rights, privileges, and enjoyments of the majority of our American population, both *native* and adopted, is contrary to the spirit of free government, and republican principles, and has left the "fatal impress" on our "statute books" (so far as legislation is concerned) that the spirit of the declaration of American independence was *born to die*.

As a "class of American citizens" they occupy a middle ground between the highest state of human liberty, and the lowest state of human despotism. They are deprived, on the one hand, by the spirit of our laws, from the exercise of political enfranchisement, and those functions that constitute entire citizenship as *men* and Americans; while on the other, they are measurably protected from involuntary servitude as "chattels." They have legally been termed a "natural excrescence;" the legitimate offspring of a government where *liberty* and *slavery* is bound together. Their existence and continued increase exhibits the continued ascendancy of the former over the latter. That the spirit of humanity in its conflicts with the spirit of despotism, will yet achieve more glorious results, we have indisputable evidences luminously imprinted on the spirit of the age. As a distinct "population, their future situation appears to have escaped the vigilant framers of the Constitution. Their arduous labors were devoted to the formation of a government whose basis and principles were sufficiently broad to protect the liberties of *men*, but the erudite expounders of that instrument have, for the most part, assigned them a situation on the map of humanity a little below the order of *MEN*, and a little above that of "chattels."

Thus the peculiarity of their situation has awakened the attention of some of the wisest and best men in our country. Every enlightened and reflecting mind, that has examined the subject, has arrived at the conclusion, that their condition must be changed. The nature, form, and principles of republican government, are opposed to the existence of three distinct classes of inhabitants, with separate rights and interests, under the same government. The two distinguished measures that are in operation, for the purpose of altering their condition, are colonization and abolition. The former proposes to *extract them from the soil*, and transplant them in the sandy deserts of Africa, under the influence of a "burning sun." The latter advocates their incorporation into the body politic, with the investment of all the civil rights that constitutes American citizenship in their *native* land and genial climate.

With the measures that are in operation for our improvement, we have every earthly interest involved for the security and protection of our happiness in this life and that which is to come. And as no human being can innocently remain indifferent about his present or eternal destiny, he should be equally concerned about the prospect of coming events. Let us fully inform ourselves of what is doing for our improvement, and lend our hands and hearts cheerfully to the noble work. We shall continue our remarks in the next number.

"ABOLITIONISM."

We hope our brethren, and friends throughout the country, will weigh well the important questions at issue, between the friends of the slave in the east, so that they may avoid making improper decisions, on the motives of the contending parties. The great principle that gave birth to the doctrine

of *immediate emancipation*, was, that slavery was a *sin* against God, and ought to be immediately abandoned. The doctrine "that man could not justly hold property in man," was embraced as a legitimate deduction from this grand principle. The measures to be used to procure the final overthrow of American slavery were to be such as are sanctioned by scripture, justice, reason, and humanity. The divine precept, "that we have no right to do *evil that good may come*," received a fresh baptism, and was adopted as the governing principle of the anti-slavery enterprise. These principles were ushered forth with holy boldness at a period of our country's history, when the "church, the government, the learning, the wisdom and humanity of this nation was arrayed against them. Planted firmly on the rock of truth, and with the use of such "weapons as were mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds," they met every opposing element with a dignified calmness, and breathed on them the spirit of conquerors, until thousands became awakened, and, from a conviction arising from the doctrines they proclaimed, joined their ranks in aid of the suffering slave.

It was the representatives from this noble band that, in 1833, formed the American Anti-Slavery Society. Whether we regard the object for which they assembled, the principles they aimed to establish, the measures they labored to promote, the personal dangers they were ready to brave, the difficulties they were prepared to encounter—a more zealous, pure, self-sacrificing, and patriotic assembly the world has never witnessed. They adopted a declaration of sentiment embracing all the cardinal principles they had previously maintained, which emanated from the pen of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, that as far surpasses our nation's Declaration of Independence, penned by the illustrious Jefferson, for purity of motive, as moral truth does "physical force." They then formed a constitution to carry out those principles by appropriate measures. Both these documents recognise *moral and political action* as the measures and means of operation. But

neither have strictly defined any limited boundary, or definite standard, for either moral or political action, thus far shalt thou go and no farther, with the single exception that they have pledged themselves not to aid the slaves in a *physical* attempt to obtain their freedom. It is natural to suppose that men that were willing to labor for the freedom of others, were not willing to be bound themselves.

The anti-slavery enterprise came into existence in despite of human creeds, and ceremonies, and often was assailed by them with contempt. It soared in a moral element above them, viewing them but as hills and mountains that were obstructing the progress of the principles of civil and religious liberty. It is not to be expected that the many noble minds that were then engaged in promoting the cause of abolition, would have been willing to raise a barrier against the progress of their future action, on the great principles they had then adopted. To have done so would have added anti-slavery to the list of human creeds. No person on joining the Society was required to subscribe to any principles but those contained in the constitution. On the subject of *peace*, he pledged himself to avoid physical resistance in aid of the slave, but he was not bound to adopt the principle of non-resistance in *all cases*—nor was he prohibited from defending his country in the case of foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection. The great difficulty that appears to be among abolitionists, is that there are many that desire to have the *moral and political* duties of anti-slavery defined, so that all may be able to act in unison, while others claim the freedom of thought, and action over all subjects relating to human happiness. We should never deny any man or set of men the appellation of abolitionists that are at all times ready to labor for the redemption of the slave? With their different views on other questions, we have nothing more to do than we have with their complexions and occupations. We believe that those that maintain that it is religiously wrong for the slaves to aid themselves by a physical effort to obtain their freedom, have acknow-

ledged a great principle that will lead them to the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases. There are doubtless a majority of anti-slavery men that have subscribed to the pledge, because they felt bound to do so by their allegiance to their government, and it is naturally to be supposed that such persons having no conscientious scruples about the basis of governments, will exert every means in their power for the purification of that government from an evil that aims at its annihilation.

NEW AUSPICES.

"We issue our paper, this day, under new auspices. The colored American comes forth conceived of, written, and printed by colored men, ON THE TYPE OF COLORED MEN, and designed, more especially, for the benefit of colored men."

We have copied the above from a leading editorial article of the "Colored American," of May 11th. The reader will not be at a loss to discover that the paper is really what it purports to be, a "*colored paper*." To those credulous and doubting republican hypocrites, that assert that the colored people are an inferior order of creation, "between men and monkeys," the appearance of such an article or paper may excite surprise and astonishment, and be considered a strange phenomena in the literary world.—With us it is entirely different; we have never doubted the ability of colored men to perform any duty equally with white men under the same opportunities. We have no complexional pride or prejudices to excite. The "*conceptions*" of colored men are to us as those of other men; we place a value on them according to our estimate of their worth. We cannot see why "colored men" may not purchase a press as well as any other species of property.

And as the paper is "designed more especially for the benefit of colored men," it ought to receive their support, *but* not because it is either "conceived of, written, and printed by colored men, ON THE TYPE OF COLORED MEN," but because its object is the elevation of colored men to an equal standing with other American citizens.

As for the title of said paper, we have no more sympathy than we should have for a reunion of those fiendish spirits that gave birth to the "Anti-Abolitionist," and "National Union," under the title of "WHITE AMERICAN." This may arise from our "mistiness" of mind, as friend Cornish says. But there is one thing of which we are morally certain, the complexional demarkation that he has set up, is either *right* or *wrong*. If the former, he possesses sufficient mental ability to explain the principles by which he is governed—if the latter, he ought to abandon it. If it is our moral duty to rally under a complexional flag, we ought to carry our principles to the utmost extent. The white man's complexion is equally imbued with the divine nature as our own—and he is certainly bound by the same moral obligations to labor *especially* for the benefit of those whose *complexional* shade is in unison with his own.

We considered Henry Clay, in his last great speech on the subject of slavery, as having forfeited every just claim to the title of a patriot and philanthropist, *because*, as a Senator and statesman he boldly denied the right of one-sixth part of this nation to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, under the Constitution of the United States because their skin was not the color of his own. He maintained that the *white man's liberty* could only be *perpetuated by extending the black man's slavery*.

Such is the doctrine maintained by the advocates of caste. For ourselves we solicit neither favor nor patronage on the ground of complexional merit. We are unable to discover why the different shades of the human form should inculcate in us feelings of glory or shame.

We publish in this number the memorial and bill of the Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Prof. of Theology in Gettysburg College, to the Legislature of this state, relative to the minor colored population of this commonwealth. It was read and printed by order of the House. We believe the object of its author, is to remedy an admitted evil, that ex-

ists with regard to the negligence of parents towards their children. We hope that it may be extensively read by every colored family. We differ wholly from the Dr. as to the means first to be used, that the object may be happily attained. Therefore we record our dissent and disapprobation of the bill as proposed, in all its parts, and not only of the present bill, but of *every attempt in future* to create laws whose legislative boundary is limited to complexional lines.

Give us equal laws, and equal opportunities of the advantages of civilized life, and if we do not attain a desirable eminence, let us sink into degradation. We are equally unwilling that our friends should by the force of legislative enactments attempt to elevate us to the skies, as that they should attempt to crush us beneath their feet. Separate and distinct laws for one portion of citizens of this commonwealth, would militate against the principles of genuine democracy, and be at war with the dictates of justice. If there should be a probability that the same shall be enacted into a law, we will in a future number trace some of its features through the present state of public sentiment; and as far as possible pourtray its general effect on that class of the population it is designed to benefit.

CHURCH ACTION.

The conference of the "African Methodist Episcopal Church" has just adjourned, and we understand that large delegations were in attendance. Their whole deliberations were conducted in a spirit of brotherly kindness, and Christian charity. Among the external improvements contemplated, is the rebuilding of Bethel Church.

The subjects of Temperance and Abolition were freely discussed, without arriving at any very definite points of action.

A resolution was adopted on the subject of Temperance, making it incumbent on all the ministers in their different circuits to aid in promoting that cause. A resolution on the subject of Abolition was offered, but was negatived by a large majority, viz:

"Resolved, That we approve of the course pursued by the abolitionists, with regard to the subject of slavery."

The arguments that were used by those that opposed its adoption, were those that have governed many other ecclesiastical bodies. "They were as much opposed to slavery as any body," "but they wished to keep the question of slavery out of the church, owing to their peculiar condition." Much as we regret this decision, and the prevalence of those opinions that led to its adoption, we are gratified that an effort was made to introduce the subject.

The spirit of liberty is aroused, and the death-like slumber of the church is broken. It will be vain for the colored people, in their ecclesiastical bodies, to attempt to hush up this subject, that now is awakening the Christian conscience in every nation, and agitating every religious sect in our land. Let every church member awaken to his duty on this subject. Every effort to withhold our approval of the acts of those that are righteously laboring for the benefit of those of our brethren that are bound in chains, ought to be repudiated by every Christian mind.

So far as their efforts have been directed to the Christian and moral welfare of our people, we are bound to bestow on their labors a just meed of praise; but we should be recreant to the cause of injured humanity and to the position we occupy, if we did not tell them that with regard to the cause of abolition they have acted the part of Ananias and Sapphira, by keeping back their approbation from the cause of God, and the suffering slave. Let them henceforward never be induced to believe their silence on this subject will be considered a virtue. The sickly excuse about *color* will not shield them from the scorn and indignation of *freemen*, nor palliate the crime in the eyes of the Christian world. Men and Christians are called upon to consecrate their noblest powers for the promotion of this just, righteous, and holy cause.

The great influence the "Conference" is capable of exerting, both morally and religiously, over the "colored people" can

scarcely be computed. That influence will always be felt for good or evil. If their labors are rightly directed, the whole character of our people will become remodded, and the "moral wilderness will be made to blossom as the rose."

MEMORIAL

*Of Professor S. S. Schmucker, relative to binding out Minor Colored Children.—
Read in the House of Representatives,
March 7th, 1839.*

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The memorial of S. S. Schmucker, citizen of Adams county, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, respectfully represents:—

That your memorialist in common with multitudes of his fellow citizens, has long contemplated with regret the depressed and unprofitable condition of the great mass of the colored population of our state. It is well known to your honorable body, that the major part of them fail to make a comfortable support for themselves, or to prove useful to those around them, whilst not a few are found in almost every town, who pursue no visible means of making an honest living, but subsist in part at least by petty depredations on the rights and property of others. There is doubtless a combination of causes to which the deplorable condition of this portion of our population may be traced by the accurate observer, a condition which no philanthropist or true friend of his country can contemplate with indifference; yet, after much attention to this subject, your memorialist is persuaded that there is one cause more operative than all the rest combined, the removal of which is entirely within the power of your honorable body. When we reflect on the powerful influence which early habits exert on all men throughout life, and remember that, whilst nineteen twentieths of our fellow citizens train up their children to some regular business or calling as a means of future subsistence, not one in twenty of our colored population is brought up to regular labor and business of any kind, it appears obvious, that the want of early training in industry and business, is the grand cause of indolence and unthriftiness of so large a portion of them. Who among us, when we occasionally see one of our citizens raising his children in idleness, without teaching them any regular business, does not confidently predict, that they will prove worthless? Since, then, the cause of the evil complained

of, has been mainly, in the neglect of colored parents to bind out their children at a proper age, to some regular art, trade or calling, and in their incapacity to teach them such art or trade themselves, it seems evident that the remedy must be sought in legislative provisions to obviate this neglect. Your memorialist, therefore, presents a sketch of such provision, to which he respectfully invites your attention. It was at first his design to bring this matter before you by petitions, with numerous signatures, of which it is believed, tens of thousands could easily be procured; but the facts in the case, and the feeling of our fellow citizens are so well known to all the members of your honorable body, that it was deemed unnecessary to occupy your time by an attempt to prove them by numerous petitions.

It cannot justly be objected to the annexed bill, that it infringes the rights of colored parents, since it only requires them to do what, as good parents, they ought not to neglect, and what other parents generally perform from choice. It is, moreover, only an exercise of the right of any community to protect themselves from the depredations of others, by legislative enactment, designed to prevent crime rather than punish it; and of the right of the commonwealth to improve the condition of her own population; a right, the justice of which cannot be denied, if the legislative action based on it, require only performance, of what all acknowledge to be a duty, and what the residue of the community have greatly done without legislative constraint. The principle of this bill seems, moreover, to be sanctioned by the decisions of our courts, in which it is held, and "if the parent of a child lives at a distance, and long relinquishes the protection of the child, a next friend to the child may bind it, and the act be valid." (1 S. & R. 366.) Those colored parents who neglect to either teach or have their children taught any mode of subsistence, have certainly failed, however undesignedly it may have been, in the proper "protection" of their children, and the law may very properly step in as a "next friend" to supply the neglect. And it is also in their power to supercede the action of the law by voluntarily performing the requisitions, before the age of their children brings them within its provisions.

The age is fixed late, in order that time may be left for the children to reap the benefit of our noble free school system, before they are indentured.

It is the opinion of numerous persons whom

your memorialist has consulted, that after the accumulated number of minors whom the law will find unprovided for, shall have been disposed of, there will be no difficulty in finding places for all, especially among our agriculturalists and others, to whom they would prove very useful assistants; and it is probable that in most places no difficulty will occur even in the first instance. Thus this population instead of being crowded into our cities, towns, and villages, where many spend their time in idleness, intemperance and wretchedness, would be distributed especially through the country, and grow up with habits of industry and capacity for self support and usefulness. It is not unworthy of remark, that the execution of the law would not cost the commonwealth a dollar, whilst it would secure most important benefits to the community, and especially to the unhappy and neglected portion of our race, whose improvement it immediately contemplates. For these reasons your memorialist very respectfully solicits your body to consider the annexed bill, and if in your judgment it is calculated to advance the public good, to avail it into a law, with such corrections as your wisdom may suggest.

S. S. SCHMUCKER,

Citizen of Adams county, Pa.

Gettysburg, March 2, 1839.

An Act concerning the Minor Colored Population of this Commonwealth.

Whereas, A large portion of the colored population of this commonwealth has, heretofore, not been brought up to any regular trade, art, occupation or calling; in consequence of which they have labored under peculiar difficulties in making an honest support; and not having acquired habits of industry in youth, have failed to prove as useful to themselves and others, as they otherwise would have done.

SECT. I. Therefore be enacted, that from and after the passage of this act, all colored minors in this commonwealth, who are above the age of fourteen, if males, and thirteen, if females, who have not been bound by their parents or other legal authority, by regular indenture, to serve as apprentices to some art, trade, calling or service, shall be bound as apprentices in the manner hereafter specified; except in the following cases, viz:

1. When the father himself is of temperate industrious habits, follows some regular art, trade or calling, keeps his son or sons regularly employed, and is able to support, and capable to teach him or them said art, trade or calling.

2. When said minor produces a certificate from a qualified and respectable teacher, that he is regularly and successfully employed in pursuing the higher branches of education, is of good moral character, and has the means of honest support.

3. In the case of females, when it shall be made to appear that they are needed for the conduct of the family, and are kept employed, and that their parents can comfortably support them, and teach them domestic service.

SECT. II. It shall be the duty of the commissioners of the several counties of this commonwealth annually, to issue their precept to the assessors of every township, ward or district within the county, requiring them, when making out the list of taxables, to enter in a separate column, and return a complete and accurate list of all colored minors, specifying the name and age of each, residing within their townships, wards or districts, above the age of fourteen, if males, and thirteen, if females, who have not been regularly bound by indenture as apprentices to some art, trade, calling or service; which return the said commissioners shall deliver to the clerk of quarter sessions, to be filed for the use of said court.

SECT. III. It shall be the duty of the court aforesaid, at the session next ensuing, to appoint two justices of the peace in each township, ward or district, who, after giving ten day's notice to the parent, guardians or friends of all the minors reported in their township, ward or district, shall meet at the time and place of which the notice aforesaid shall have been given to the parent, guardians or friends of the minors, and decide upon the cases of exception according to the provisions of this act, and within thirty days thereafter bind all the minors embraced in the provisions of this act to persons of good character: provided that an appeal shall be from their decision to the court aforesaid, if prosecuted at the court next ensuing; the said justices to receive each one dollar for every minor legally bound, to be paid by the master at the time of indenture.

SECT. IV. All persons embraced in the exceptions specified in section one of this act, shall nevertheless be annually reported by the assessors, and returned by the court to the justices of the peace aforesaid, and shall be continued as exceptions, only so long as the grounds of such exception in the judgment of said justices continued.

SECT. V. All the laws of this commonwealth, for the regulation and protection of apprentices, are hereby extended to all colored minors bound as apprentices under the

sions of this act: and by colored persons in this act are meant negroes, and also, slaves of every grade.

Art. VI. Any justice of the peace neglecting to attend to the duties assigned him by this act, shall, on information to the aforesaid, be fined twenty dollars, for each case, one-half to go to the informer, and the other half to the county treasury, for the benefit of the common schools in the district in which said justice resides.

Art. VII. And any person desirous of having one of said minors indentured to him, shall apply to one of the justices aforesaid, and if said applicant be temperate and of good character, shall give him a certificate, which he may present to the parent or guardian of the minor, and invite him to bring his or her child or ward before the justice. And if the parent, guardian or minor refuses to go, it may be lawful for the justice to cause them to appear in the manner provided, in the case of indentured apprentices, in the act of September 29, 1770, for the regulation of apprentices, the expense of said process to be paid by the person to whom said minor is to be indentured. And if there be several applicants of temperate habits and good character, the minor shall have the privilege of selection.

Art. VIII. This act shall continue in force fifteen years and no longer.

At a meeting of the *Vigilant Association*, on the 31st of May, the following officers were unanimously elected:

ROBERT PURVIS, *President*.
Edwin H. Coats, *Vice President*.
James Needham, *Treasurer*.
Robert B. Ayres, *Secretary*.
Jacob C. White, *Agent*.

A standing committee of twelve.

At a special meeting, held on the 10th of June, Robert Purvis, Edward Needles, Joseph Ly, and Samuel Levick were chosen as a special committee, and they, together with the agent, Jacob C. White, were empowered to receive and collect donations, and those who feel an interest in the objects of the Association are earnestly desired to leave contributions with either or any of the above named persons.

JACOB C. WHITE, Secretary, pro. tem.

We are requested to state that the funds of the foregoing Association are very low—no money just now would do essential service. A "word to the wise is sufficient."

CALL FOR THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

At the last anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it was voted to hold a National Convention at Albany, on the 31st day of July next. The undersigned were appointed a committee to issue a CALL, and make the necessary arrangements for the proposed Convention.

In executing the wishes of the Society, they accordingly most cordially invite all such FREEMEN OF THE UNITED STATES AS ADOPT THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to meet in Convention at Albany, on the last Wednesday of July next, in the 4th Presbyterian meeting house, at ten o'clock A. M.

The object of the Convention is the thorough discussion of those great principles which lie at the foundation of the abolition enterprise throughout the civilized world; and of the measures which are suited to its accomplishment in the United States, and especially those which relate to the proper exercise of the right of suffrage by citizens of the free states. All questions and matters foreign to this object will be cautiously avoided in the deliberations of the occasion.

W. L. CHAPLIN,	} Utica.
WM. GOODELL,	
JOSHUA LEAVITT,	} New York.
H. B. STANTON,	
GURDON GRANT,	Troy.
N. SAFFORD,	} Albany.
A. G. ALDER,	
HIRAM FANNING,	
NATHAN COLBURN,	

For the National Reformer.

"Agapetus, a man of great skill, writing to the emperor Justinian, amongst other things had this saying: we say that thou art truly and rightly both emperor and king, so long as thou canst command and master thy desires and pleasures, and art beset and decked with the crown of temperance, and clothed with the purple robe of justice."

If we were to consider well of the worthy effects and fruits of temperance, take a more extensive view of the all important subject, we would perceive, that while it has been zealously advocated from the pulpit, in the legislative halls, and through the press, the true principles of temperance have not yet been learned by the many; though some may be "decked with the crown of temperance."

there are but few that have put on the "robe of justice."—To be temperate is not only to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks, but to be temperate in all things; it is that virtue which governs the wise and prudent man through life, and teaches him how to abstain from all the follies and vices of a sinful world, to love mercy and to do justly; there is nothing so good and excellent as temperance, it is the guide and governor of the soul, which because of her exceeding great light cannot be hid in darkness; it compelleth man to follow reason, and brings peace to his mind; serves as it were, a bridle to restrain all pleasures, and makes man in the midst of them good and virtuous. It serves for a knife to cut off all superfluous, vain, and unnecessary desires of both the soul and the body,—while at the same time it teaches how to appreciate and enjoy all the comforts of this world bestowed upon us by an allwise Providence, with that moderation as becometh the virtuous and wise. This is the kind of temperance that should be adopted and practised by all; it ought to meet the consideration of the down-trodden and oppressed "colored Americans." To throw off that great load of oppression, under which they have so long labored, they must abandon all the vices of their more favored brethren, and as one body adopt the true principles of temperance and economy; they must no longer imitate the follies of their oppressors, with vain show and parade, club parties and nightly festivals. But let all their efforts be directed to the promotion of the Christian religion, morality, and the universal diffusion of knowledge.

AMANA.

Philadelphia, May 22, 1839.

THE BLACK LAWS OF OHIO.

We copy from the Emancipator "the servile bill" that has passed the Ohio Legislature, with the editor's comment. It forms the very *fiat* of injustice, and like slavery itself "stands alone on its own detestable pre-eminence." It exhibits the slaveholding power not only as trampling under foot every natural and inalienable right, but stretching its detestable "mandate over the consciences of others." It exhibits the pliant subserviency of the Legislature of a free state bowing to the dictations of Southern tyrants.

If the citizens of Ohio do not exert themselves to have this degrading bill removed

from their statute book, *their doom is sealed.* The very spirit of those laws that denies them the right to "feed the hungry and clothe the naked," will yet forge new fetters, that will be still more galling. It will require but another stretch of power to make it a penal offence to pray for the prosperity of God's suffering poor.

Let not the advocates and abettors of this bill deceive themselves by supposing that it will be capable of effecting the object they desire. No, no, far from it. Christianity is not yet so far annihilated, as to allow the demon of oppression to revel in his glory. There are tens of thousands, that will yield to the voice of conscience, and the laws of God, in defiance of every "despotic code" throughout Christendom. So let the friends of slavery multiply their penalties, enforce their fines, and enlarge their prisons, and they will soon discover that there are those that if they are denied the poor privilege of aiding their suffering brethren (for fear of their being slaves,) will glory in suffering themselves, so that they can feel their "brethren's bonds as being bound with them."

This has already been styled the "martyr age in the United States," and if we judge from past history the sufferings that mankind have endured for conscience sake, we may anticipate future events with some degree of certainty. If slaveholding Kentucky can arrogate to herself the power of governing the consciences of the free citizens of Ohio, then Maryland may as easily make a like demand of Pennsylvania, and the General Government by her lordling power may yet attempt to subjugate the people of the free states to the dominations of Southern slavery.

This can, no doubt, all be acted upon by the interpretation "that it is the deliberate conviction of this General Assembly that the Constitution can only be sustained as it was framed by a spirit of just compromise." If the Union of these states can only be supported by making the people of the "free states" swear eternal allegiance to the Southern slavery, its epitaph may as well be written, for *die it must.*

The spirit of the Ohio "servile bill" is arrayed against the freedom of conscience, and the natural laws of the human mind; and will be condemned by all who breathe the spirit of freemen. It strikes a blow against

and humanity, and usurps the divine attribute, "help the poor and needy." The President of the United States, Col. M., a citizen of Kentucky and a slaveholder, says in his famous Sunday mail report their revolutionary fathers asked was "toleration!" and to achieve they braved all the dangers through which independence was achieved. The Constitution expresses the object of its framers in the following language, which was "to obtain for themselves and THEIR POSTERITY," the late Gov. Mr. Duffie, of South Carolina, in his speech on the 4th of July at Charleston, asserted that "he loved the Union as any man living, but God forbid, said that it should exist a single day after it failed to promote the objects for which it was created." If the Legislatures of the other states of this confederacy do but follow the example of Ohio, the people of the North will need neither "flat noses, woolly hair nor black complexions" to distinguish them from the slaves of the South, for the deed will be indelibly recorded in their code, and remain in their archives, a stand-monument of their dishonor, degradation and infamy. It is altogether creditable to the friends of Ohio, that the streams of liberty flowed so freely for their enslaved brethren, that the slaveholders of Kentucky under the necessity of imploring their Legislature to enact laws to check the full tide of benevolence. Go on, good friends, Henry Clay will say at the next session of Congress, you have put back emancipation three centuries. Well, let Northern states utter their stereotyped taunts of "going back emancipation." If they will let us alone, we will go on putting it back until we bring slavery to judgment, and then the Union will be free.

THE SERVILE BILL OF OHIO."

By the polite attention of H. S. Gillett, Attorney at Law, of Columbia, Ohio, we at length received a copy of the Ohio Servile Bill, as it was finally passed, and be- so far as the will of the Legislature, in accordance with the Constitution of the state and we can make it so, the law of the com- monwealth. We give the whole bill below, as a document that ought to be preserved in the archives of anti-slavery. Let it stand as a monument of the extent to which we had subjugated the free states, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine. Let it stand, as the turning point of this grand declension. Let it stand,

as the lowest depth of the deep degradation in which Ohio has been plunged by her venal editors and corrupt politicians. Let it stand, as the point of ascension, whence she shall soon emerge above the waves of infamy. Let the history of the Connecticut Black Act pre- figure the destiny of the Ohio Servile Bill; and let the friends of Andrews and Goddard pray, that, like Sherman and Pearl, they may live to undo with their own hands the deed of darkness to which they have so unworthily lent themselves.

In regard to the law itself, our opinion is, that it will prove a very harmless affair, in practice; for the difficulty of proving to the satisfaction of a Jury of Ohio freemen, that the person who gave bread to the hungry, or clothing to the naked, *knew him to be a slave*, will allow of very few convictions. Let us, after all, be duly thankful for magnanimous Kentucky, that she was so cheaply satisfied, and that our glorious Union is so easily pre- served."

LAWS OF OHIO.

PASSED AT THE SESSION OF 1838-39.

(No. 19.)

An Act relating to Fugitives from Labor or Service from other States.

Whereas, The second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States declares that "no person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due:" And whereas, the laws now in force within the state of Ohio are wholly inadequate to the protection pledged by this provision of the Constitution of the Southern states of this Union: And whereas, it is the duty of those who reap the largest measure of benefits conferred by the Constitution, to recognise to their full extent the obligations which that instrument imposes: And whereas, it is the deliberate conviction of this General Assembly, that the Constitution can only be sustained as it was framed, by a spirit of just compromise;—Therefore,

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio*, That when any person held to labor or service in any of the United States under the laws thereof, shall escape into this state, the person to whom such labor or service is due, his or her agent and attorney is hereby authorized to apply to any judge of any court of record in

this state, or to any justice of the peace, or to the mayor of any city or town corporate, who, on such application supported by the oath or affirmation of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, that said fugitive has escaped from his or her service, or from the service of the person for whom he is agent or attorney, and which oath or affirmation shall be reduced to writing, and shall specify the name and place of the residence of the person to whom such labor or service is due, and also the name and supposed age of such fugitive, with a pertinent description of his or her person, shall issue his warrant under his hand and seal, and directed to the sheriff or constable of any county in this state, authorizing and directing said sheriff or constable to seize and arrest the said fugitive who shall be named in the said warrant; and in case the said fugitive shall be arrested in the county in which said warrant may be issued, to bring him or her before some judge of a court of record of this state residing within such county, or in case the said fugitive shall be arrested in any other county than the county in which the warrant may be issued, then to take him or her before some judge of a court of record in this state, residing in the county in which such arrest is made; *Provided, however,* That no such warrant shall be returned before any officer residing out of the county in which the same may have been issued, unless the official character of the judge or justice issuing the same shall be duly authenticated by the seal and certificate of the clerk of the supreme court of common pleas; and if issued by a mayor of any city or town corporate, the official character of said mayor shall be duly authenticated under the seal of said city or town corporate; which said warrant shall be in the form and to the effect following, that is to say:

THE STATE OF OHIO, COUNTY, ss.
To any sheriff or constable of the state of Ohio, Greeting;

This is to authorize and require you to seize and arrest the body of
sworn or affirmed to be the slave or servant
(as the case may be) of

the state of
and in case such arrest be made in this county, to bring such person so arrested forthwith before some judge of a court of record of this state residing within this county; or in case such arrest be made in any other county in this state, then to take said person so arrested before some judge of a court of record of this state, residing within the county in which

such arrest may be made, to be dealt with as the law directs.

To which warrant shall be annexed a copy of the oath or affirmation hereinbefore specified: *Provided,* That no such arrest shall be made by any sheriff or constable of this state without the limits of his own proper county; by virtue of which warrant the said fugitive named therein shall be arrested by the officer to whom it is directed, in any county of this state.

SECT. 2. The said person so claimed as a fugitive, when so arrested, shall be brought before the officer as directed in the first section of this act; and the said claimant, his or her agent or attorney, having first given security for the costs, and having proved to the satisfaction of such officer, that the person so seized and arrested doth, under the laws of the state from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient authority for removing the said fugitive to the state from which he or she fled; but no such certificate shall be deemed a sufficient authority for the removal of such fugitive, under the provisions of this act, unless the official character of the officer giving the same be duly authenticated according to the provisions of this act, in relation to the issuing of warrants.

SECT. 3. If any person or persons shall knowingly and wilfully prevent such sheriff or constable from arresting such fugitive from labor or service as aforesaid, or shall knowingly and wilfully obstruct or hinder such sheriff or constable in making such arrest; or shall knowingly and wilfully hinder or obstruct any claimant, his or her agent or attorney, having the certificate provided for in second the section of this act, in the removal of such fugitive to the state from which he or she fled; or shall rescue, or aid and abet in the rescue of such fugitive from such sheriff, constable, claimant, agent or attorney; or if two or more persons shall assemble together with intent to obstruct, hinder or interrupt such sheriff or constable in arresting such fugitive, or with intent to obstruct, hinder or interrupt such claimant, agent or attorney having the certificate aforesaid, in the removal of such fugitive to the state from which he or she fled, and shall make any movement or preparation therefor, every person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof, by indictment, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail

of the county not exceeding sixty days, at the discretion of the court; and shall moreover, be liable in an action at the suit of the person claiming such labor or service.

SECT. 4. That when said fugitive shall be brought before the judge agreeably to the provisions of this act, on the return of the warrant, if the claimant, his or her agent or attorney, shall not be prepared for trial, and shall make oath or affirmation that he or she does verily believe that the person so arrested is a fugitive from labor or service in another state, and that if allowed time he or she will be able to produce satisfactory evidence that the person so arrested does owe such labor or service, it shall be the duty of such judge to postpone the trial to such time as he may deem reasonable, not exceeding sixty days; and in case of such postponement, it shall and may be lawful for such judge, unless the person so arrested shall enter into bond, with one or more sufficient securities to be approved of by such judge, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars to the person claiming the person so arrested aforesaid, conditioned for his or her appearance on the day to which the trial shall be postponed, and that he or she will then and there abide the decision of the judge who shall try the case, to commit the party arrested to the jail of the county where the trial is pending there to be detained at the expense of the claimant, his agent or attorney, until the day set for trial by said judge; and in case the party arrested shall be committed to the jail of the county, the claimant, his or her agent or attorney shall pay down to said judge, for the use of the person entitled thereto, the amount of the jail fees and the sheriff's fees for keeping and providing for such person during the period that he or she shall be imprisoned as aforesaid; and the said judge shall in like manner give time not exceeding sixty days for the production of evidence on behalf of the party arrested, if he or she shall file an affidavit, that he or she does not owe labor or service to the claimant, and that affiant verily believes that he or she will be able to produce evidence to that effect: *Provided*, That the person so arrested shall give bond and security as aforesaid, in the penalty of one thousand dollars; and conditioned for his or her personal appearance at the time and place of trial, and that he or she will abide the decision of the judge who shall try the case; and on failure to give such bond and security, the party arrested shall be committed to the jail of the county, there to be detained until the time fixed for trial as aforesaid; and on the day appointed for the trial

such fugitive, if committed to jail, shall be brought before said judge, or in case of his absence, sickness, or inability to attend, before some other judge of a court of record of this state residing within such county, by the written order of such judge directed to the sheriff or jailor of the proper county, for final hearing and adjudication; and in there shall be a breach of the condition either of said bonds the claimant shall have a right of action thereon, and recover as in other cases; and on said trial either party shall be entitled to be heard by counsel, and shall have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses.

SECT. 5. It shall be the duty of the said judge, at the time to which the case is postponed as aforesaid, to proceed to hear the parties, and if it shall be proven to his satisfaction that the party arrested does owe labor or service to the claimant, he shall give such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, a certificate of that fact which shall be a sufficient authority for such claimant, his or her agent or attorney to remove such fugitive from the state; but no such certificate shall be deemed a sufficient authority for the removal of such fugitive unless the official character of the officer giving the same be duly authenticated according to the provisions of this act in relation to the issuing of warrants; and if the party thus arrested shall not appear according to the conditions of his or her bond, it shall be the duty of the said judge to deliver the same to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney, to enable him or her to bring suit thereon.

SECT. 6. If any person or persons in this state shall counsel, advise, or entice any other person who by the laws of another state shall owe labor or service to any other person or persons, to leave, abandon, abscond or escape from the person or persons to whom such labor or service according to the laws of such other state is or may be due, or shall furnish money or conveyance of any kind, or any other facility, with intent and for the purpose of enabling such person owing labor or service as aforesaid to escape from or elude the claimant of such person owing labor or service as aforesaid, knowing such person or persons to owe labor or service as aforesaid, every person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail of the county not exceeding sixty days, at the discretion of the court; and shall moreover be liable in an action at the suit of the party injured.

SECT. 7. If any person or persons shall

falsely, fraudulently, and without proper authority, give to any other person, who by the laws of any other state shall owe labor or service to any person or persons, any certificate or other testimonial of emancipation, with the intent to defraud the person or persons to whom such labor or service may be due, knowing such person to owe labor or service as aforesaid, or shall harbor or conceal any such person owing labor or service as aforesaid, who may come into this state without the consent of the person or persons to whom such labor or service may be due, knowing such person to owe labor or service as aforesaid, every person so offending shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail of the county not exceeding sixty days, at the discretion of the court; and shall moreover be liable in an action at the suit of the party injured.

SECT. 8. Any sheriff, or constable, who shall execute any process directed and delivered to him under the provisions of this act, or any clerk of a court, or mayor, who shall authenticate any certificate or warrant under the provisions of this act, shall receive the same fees as are now allowed by law for similar services in other cases.

SECT. 9. It shall be the duty of all officers proceeding under this act to recognise, without proof, the existence of slavery or involuntary servitude, in the several states of this Union in which the same may exist or be recognised by law.

SECT. 10. If any person in any deposition or affidavit, or other oath of affirmation, taken pursuant to the provisions of this act, shall wilfully and corruptly depose, affirm, or declare, any matter to be fact, knowing the same to be false, or shall in like manner deny any matter to be fact, knowing the same to be true, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary, and kept at hard labor not more than seven, nor less than three years.

SECT. 11. If any person or persons shall in any manner attempt to carry out of this state, or knowingly be aiding in carrying out of this state, any person, without first obtaining sufficient legal authority for so doing, according to the laws of this state or of the United States, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary and kept at hard labor, not less than three, nor more than seven years.

SECT. 12. That the fourth section of an act to regulate black and mulatto persons, passed January 5th, 1804, and so much of the second section of the act to prevent kidnapping, passed February 15th, 1831, as is inconsistent with the provisions of this act, be and the same is hereby repealed.

SECT. 13. That a trial and judgment under the act of Congress, entitled an act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters, approved February 12th, 1793, or a trial and judgment under the provisions of this act, shall be adjudged a final bar to any subsequent proceeding against such fugitive under the provisions of this act.

SECT. 14. This act to take effect from and after the first day of May next.

JAS. J. FARAN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

WILLIAM HAWKINS,

Speaker of the Senate.

February 26, 1839.

UPPER CANADA.

One of the devoted brethren who are laboring as teachers among the colored fugitives from *Republicanism* in Canada, called at the office lately, on his way to visit his parents in Massachusetts. He represents the wants of this people, and the claims of the little band of volunteers who are trying to elevate them, in a very interesting point of view. Our friends in Great Britain ought to take the case of this growing and important body of British subjects into deep consideration. By every case of self-emancipation, America loses and Britain gains A MAN. On the latter, therefore, justly falls the responsibility of providing the means of their improvement. We recommend that a deputation should be sent out from England to inquire as to the best method of accomplishing the object. Our own impression is, that no better way can be devised than just to help brother Wilson and his associates.

The "Colored English," as they are designated in Canada, have resolved on the establishment of a newspaper at Toronto, called the "British American Journal of Liberty." Messrs. Peter Gallego and E. L. De St. Remy are the conductors. We have received a copy of the prospectus, and feel that we cannot more advantageously introduce this new enterprise than by copying it entire. It would do honor to the manhood of any editor, any where.

PROPECTUS OF THE
BRITISH AMERICAN JOURNAL OF LI-
BERTY.

Very little attention, to what is going on around us, will show that every party is up and doing. Nothing is left unattempted, which can by any means forward the interests of these bodies,—Societies, meetings, petitions, a thousand devices, too well understood by every one to need description, are put in action; and more powerful than all other instruments, the PRESS, that GIANT LEVER of the modern world, is laid under all superincumbent obstacles, for their overthrow.

Amidst this stirring generation, where the very Ministers of a meek master feel it necessary to enter the ardent arena, and in the front of battle wage war for their respective tenets, character and interests, in this Parent Land of Liberty, where man's voice is free from gag-laws, as his limbs from chains, our colored fellow-subjects *alone* remain in a fatal and unaccountable torpor.

Let us awake. Long enough, too long for our reputation and our safety, we have left it to others to fight our battles! The colored man alone can triumphantly avenge insulted human nature. He, the new-born Son of Freedom, his Soul strengthened by its regenerating spirit, must dispel, with the breath of irrefragable truth, the dense fog, which now obscures the native lustre of just and equal laws.

We, whom birth and principle have made yours, call on you to rouse your dormant energies; to come forward *in your own cause*, as men and freemen; to support *this your own mouth piece*, the proposed *vindicator of your character and rights*. You must not, you will not refuse *any sacrifice* in your power, nor will we claim any beyond, that this publication may take rank among the most efficient and respectable.

When the numerous and growing colored population of Upper Canada, complying with the customs prevalent in their adopted country, will establish a Newspaper specially consecrated to their interests, no enlightened and liberal mind will view with surprise, or blame, a natural constitutional and English course of procedure.

We are fully aware of the many very serious difficulties we shall have to encounter. Her Majesty's colored subjects in Upper Canada, labor under some great disadvantages, the consequences of our recent passage from the mock Liberty, granted by heartless Republicans, to the perfect freedom of a constitutional

monarchy. Though here we are evidently doing well, having abundance of employment, nevertheless we are as yet, and possibly will be for a few years to come, only laborers in comfortable circumstances and small traders. Very few of us are wealthy land owners; this can easily be accounted for. The general of colored emigrants bring with them little or nothing, beyond the hearts of freemen, and a resolution to work their way to respectable standing in the community. This we have gained. Every person free from prejudice and party feeling, acknowledges that *as a body*, in this Province, none surpasses us in temperance, industry, integrity, and self-respect. Still, having been brutally denied, by trembling tyrants, all liberty of mental improvements, even when mocked with the name of free citizens, we have brought with us the ungratified thirst of knowledge. Advanced in life, with nothing but our own exertions to rely on, for the support of ourselves and families, we have little opportunity in towns, and less in the fields, for any kind of study. Prejudice against color, though gradually disappearing, has yet hold enough, even in this British province, not to live, but to languish out a few years; and meanwhile annoy us, with its silly boasts, and foolish taunts. These prejudices, have, however, in our opinion, been greatly exaggerated; and thereby the more wealthy and educated of our brethren in the United States have been deterred from fixing their residence in Upper Canada, where their presence, if in sufficient numbers, would so materially tend to our benefit and countenance, and serve more than any thing else, to give the last blow to expiring prejudice.

Our paper will be divided into the following heads:

1st. Discussion of all legal enactments of the Home or Canadian Legislatures referring to our constitutional rights, or liable to influence our condition of naturalized or native British subjects.

2d. Comparative exposition of the existing legislations of the different Governments in the United States; their past and proposed variations, whether for better or worse; the principal police regulations of the Executive in these republics.

3d. Laws and regulations in other British colonies, principally the West Indies. Occasionally we will endeavor to procure some account of the jurisprudence of the French colonies and other foreign countries.

4th. State of opinion in Upper Canada, as to color.

1st. Among the different denominations of clergy.

2d. Among the educated and opulent classes.

3d. Among the laboring classes.

4th. Among the principal political parties.

1st. As evinced by the respect paid to persons and property. 2d. By the free exercise of all civil and political rights. 3d. Treatment in suits at law between white and colored individuals, and total absence of Lynch Law. 4th. Common admission to government schools and Literary Societies. 5th. To all churches without the infamous distinction of separate seats. 6th. To rank in the militia proportionate to the actual rank in society. Lastly, we will not conceal any of the few unfortunate proofs of prejudice individuals occasionally give, to show they have the name but not the spirit of Englishmen.

We cannot promise to soil our pages with the heart-sickening description of the iniquities perpetrated in the neighboring republic. The fact speaks loudly enough to the victims, and we doubt our power to make the English people tolerate even a simple recital of such enormities so frequently occurring.

Moral and intellectual character of the colored English; their success as farmers, merchants, professional men, &c.

Discussion of all the measures likely to advance our welfare under these and all other heads; with occasional glances at the progress of our fellow subjects in the West Indies.

Whatever space the foregoing all engrossing questions may leave us, we will devote to historical inquiries and Biographical Sketches, referring to our past glory and future prospects; and we may even as a relaxation, indulge ourselves occasionally by introducing subjects quite unconnected with politics.

Having stated the subjects we intend to treat of, it only remains to explain the spirit in which our paper will be conducted.

As regards our colored fellow subjects, it is needless to say, that their *character, rights and welfare*, in every application of the word, here and every where else, *will be always our main object.*

Knowing that public opinion in England is more enlightened than in any other country, or even than in her own colonies, we will on that account, as well as from a grateful sense of her great measures of national justice towards us, and from many other cogent reasons, (*the interest of this colony, in general, being by no means the least,*) support and defend with all honorable means, with all our force and might, the connection of the Canadas

with the mother country. We will by our words and writings, as well as swords, fight the battles of that just and free Monarchy, whenever called on; and no consideration, however specious or plausible, shall ever make us pause or hesitate.

With regard to *local reforms, which do not compromise the safety of the connection*, we will not pledge ourselves to any man or party. We remain free to take which ever side appears to us the most just and beneficial to the province, without considering the parties or persons who propose them. Let not the public, however, forget that we, who have had the *experience of uncontrolled popular government*, and who know what real grievances are, *will not be easily duped into the belief that we are under oppression*, whilst we feel no such thing.

Private life will always be respected by us. The PUBLIC ACTS alone of political characters can, with propriety, be brought before the tribunal of public opinion. In general we will deal more with measures than men; and, when driven to the latter ungrateful task, hope to avoid the common error of descanting on hidden motives, instead of obvious actions. In fine, we promise NEVER TO SACRIFICE, to any consideration of color or party, TRUTH AND PRINCIPLE.

PETER GALLEG0 and E. L. DE ST. REMY.

In the private letter of the editors, accompanying the prospectus, a strong confidence is expressed that Canada is the place for a movement of colored men in furtherance of the great cause to which abolitionists are devoted. Another object of the publication is to put in a "continued claim" in behalf of Her Majesty's colored subjects, to an equal participation in all civil rights and immunities in proportion to to their qualifications, to a seat in the jury box, the Common Council and the Provincial Parliament.

The paper will be published weekly, at \$2.50 a year, payable in advance, in bills which are current in Canada.

Our Colonization friends, who are so anxious to see black men expatriated "with their own consent," and placed where they can enjoy the prerogatives of "freemen," and become "elevated," ought to take a special interest in the enterprise. Why should they not feel as proud of a colony in Canada as of one in Africa? We venture to offer a guaranty, that, if they will furnish us with the sum of \$26,000, equal to what the New York Colonization Society expended last year, we will colonize in Canada ten times as many slaves as they have colonized in Bassa Cove, and furnish them

with at least double the advantages and means of improvement. Who will take us up?

We commend to the attentive perusal of our readers, the following graphic and eloquent speech:

THE DIGNITY OF THE ABOLITION CAUSE.

AS COMPARED WITH THE POLITICAL SCHEMES OF THE DAY.

Speech of John Jay, of New Bedford, N. Y. at the Fourth Anniversary of the New York City A. S. Society, May 8th, 1839.

In rising, sir, to move the adoption of the Annual Report, the pleasing duty assigned me by the Committee of Arrangements, I am happy in an opportunity of offering some remarks, with which I had intended to sustain a resolution, to the effect, that our Society, although it has entered the arena of politics, retains to the full extent the Christian character which has marked it from the beginning; that our cause is not to be confounded with the political schemes of the day, inasmuch as it differs widely from them, in the fixedness and purity of its principles, its high-toned patriotism, flowing philanthropy and glorious aims; and that whether immediate success crowns our labors, or disappointments await our hopes, we can rejoice in the assurance of Heaven's favor, in the sympathies of all Christian people, and the voice of approving conscience.

The recent adoption by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and numerous of its auxiliaries, of new measures, has led many who look only at the surface of things, to imagine that they have adopted new principles. It is unnecessary for me to expend many moments in refuting a supposition which *you* all know to be groundless, or to show that when the supporters of anti-slavery advocate POLITICAL ACTION, they are but carrying out the first objects of our association, distinctly stated in the Constitution; that they are endeavoring, "in a constitutional way," to quote the language of that instrument, to fill the halls of our national legislature with the champions of freedom, who shall hasten the day for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade wherever they exist under the sanction of Congress. That the founders of the Society did not advise its members to seek the accomplishment of these ends through the medium of the ballot box when their number was so small that the attempt must inevitably have failed, and instead of arousing the interest or exciting the fears of their opponents, would only have moved contempt, is not surprising. With a far-sighted

wisdom, however, that well became men who were laying the corner stone of an institution, before whose principles slavery must fall, they did not restrict themselves or their successors, when the Society should be rejoicing in its strength, to the plans then adopted, when the newly organized association was struggling with weakness; but they provided for the use of this and every other means that might thereafter be deemed expedient, only premising that they must be constitutional. Those gentlemen, therefore, who, by some, are regarded as innovators, for inculcating this doctrine of political action, which is only furnishing another outlet for the profitable employment of new power; which is only adding to the great engine of abolition, additional wheels of incalculable force, to meet the increasing tide of anti-slavery sentiment; are in fact less innovators than those who, regardless of the enlargement of our numbers, and the increase of our strength, would pertinaciously restrict us to measures adopted in years gone by, and who thus destroy the due proportion which then existed, and which ought to be preserved, between the power that we possess, and the means for its exercise.

The danger apprehended by some minds, from connecting this religious question with politics, arises from a misapprehension of their relation. No new end is sought to be effected; no new principle is introduced; no new character is actually imparted to the Society. The political action of the abolitionists, far from being opposed to their moral influence, is only *the embodiment of that influence in a tangible and effective form*. I will not stop to enlarge upon the necessity of this course for the preservation of freedom of speech and of the press, so essential to the carrying out every other of our measures, for it must be evident to all, that if we neglect to use the elective franchise, our opponents, although in a minority, may deprive us of these rights at pleasure—nor will I delay you with an exposition of the absurdity of refusing to exercise in behalf of the liberty of the slave, that right of ballot which is the basis of our own freedom; nor of the extreme folly, after having revolutionized to a great degree, the public sentiment of the North, on the subject of slavery, to neglect to render it effective by that most constitutional of all means, the exercise of suffrage.

Many abolitionists having fallen into this error, of mistaking the adoption of a new measure for the adoption of a new principle, it is not surprising that our opponents have imbibed the same opinion, or at all events have found it convenient to express it; and all

though it is frequently very difficult to distinguish hypocrisy from truth, I am inclined to believe from the fact, that previously to one of our elections, both democrats and whigs endeavored, by flattering speeches, more odious by far than their abuse, to court our favor; that they did *in reality* regard us as on a par with themselves; and were we very sensitive to the opinions entertained of us by our pro-slavery friends, it would be a little mortifying to remember that, by many who are unable to discriminate between a means and an end, a measure and a principle, we are looked upon in a similar light with the political parties of the day.

(To be continued.)

For the National Reformer.

"We desire to call the attention of some of the learned phrenologists to the heading of this article, [Humanology,] so they may be able to cultivate a new science, and tell us what organs a man ought to have to render him a slave."

National Reformer.

"What organs?" we must seek among the skulls
Of some who walk the earth unblushingly,
With head erect, but with the will (alas!
Sometimes the *power*) to trample in the dust
The energies of never dying souls.
They should possess such organs, they are slaves
To man's worst passions, willing, shameless slaves!
"What organs," they who speculate in signs
Of character may ask,—but oh! what *souls*?
It is a fearful question, what may be
The fate of unrepenting souls like theirs.

We turn from them to those whom they oppress,
To those (what e'er their organs) who have hearts
Warm with the purest human feelings, who
Have spirits guided by the light of heaven.
Oh! whate'er earthly shadows cross their paths,
That blessed ray is beaming from above;
And if they follow it, they'll gain at last
A world of perfect, never ending bliss.

March 5th, 1839.

For the National Reformer.

A CALL AT THE ELEVENTH HOUR.

"Why stand ye here all the day idle?—Mat. xx. 6.

BY SUSAN WILSON.

Hath no man hired you, to lend
Succour to the distress'd, who bend
Beneath oppression's hand?
To you has no command been given,
To heed the still small voice from Heaven?
Why do ye idly stand?

Prize ye the calm around your home!
Oh, list! on southern breezes come
The sound of whips and chains,
Turn from the false the worn-out story,
Of "Freedom," "Independence," "Glory,"
See, slavery's curse remains!

What e'er our country's impious boast,
Of high, firm standing, (long since lost,)
Know ye not while we hear
That "*freedom's flag is o'er us waving*,"
OCEANS of blood our shores are laving?
Why stand ye idle here?

Rouse, rouse ye! while *one hour* remains,
Oh lend your aid to break the chains
That fetter soul and hand!
On,—onward in the strength that's given,
The light around you is from Heaven,
No longer idle stand!

Fifth mo. 19.

From the Christian Witness.

MORAL REFORMERS.

If to the heroes of the olden time
Who fought and suffered, Liberty! for thee,
Daring to die to make a people free,
Honors belong and triumph-hymns sublime,
Making their names the watch-word of a clime—
What meed of purest glory shall be given
To him who stands, sustained alone by heaven,
Battling with single arm a Nation's crime?
Unmoved, unswerving in the thickest fight,
Though scoffs, and jeers, and curses from the vile,
And hate be poured upon his head the while,
The fearless champion of the True and Right?
What meed for him? Profane not with your lays
His name—for Earth no language hath to speak his praise!

NOTICE.

The third Annual Meeting of the American Moral Reform Society will be held in this city on the second Tuesday (13th) of August next. We hope our brethren without respect to creed or color, will assemble in large delegations. Papers friendly to the cause of Moral Reform are requested to publish this notice.

JOHN P. BURR,

Chairman of the Board of Managers.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION, &c. The size of the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal octavo, and published monthly, at \$1.00 a year, in advance—six copies for \$5.00.

All communications, &c., relating to the editorial department should be addressed, *post paid*, to ROBERT PURVIS, No. 11 Jefferson Row. Those that relate to subscriptions to this paper must be directed to JOHN P. BURR, 113 S. Fifth street.

JOHN B. ROBERTS has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the 'Reformer.'

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.
New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.
New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.
" Burlington—Robert Taylor.
Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.
" Columbia—Stephen Smith.
" Harrisburg—Junius C. Morell.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—*Acts xvii. 26.*

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 9.

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1839.

VOL. I.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

THE third annual meeting of the *American Moral Reform Society*, was held on the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th inst., in the basement story of the "Second African Presbyterian Church" in this city. The venerable President, JAMES FORTEN, though in feeble health and laden with years, presided throughout, with that dignity and urbanity so peculiarly characteristic in his general character. Though there were but a few persons in attendance from a distance,* yet the Society was not less ably represented, in talent and numbers, than on any previous occasion. The business meetings were conducted with the highest order and decorum, and the debates were truly interesting. The honest zeal and devotion that animated the different speakers on subjects where a difference of opinion existed, was alike creditable to their "heads and hearts." These conflicts of mind with mind drew forth some of the most admirable strains of sublime oratory and impassioned eloquence we have ever listened to.

It would be invidious to mention the names of those possessing such rare and invaluable gifts, in order to distinguish them from those less fortunate, were it not that the parting resolution to the Rev. D. A. Payne welcoming him to the gratitude and affection of the good people of the British West Indies forms such an exception, and elicited from him one of those spontaneous bursts of fervid eloquence that for a time wholly enchained the attention of the enlightened assemblage, while the speaker won for himself their affection, esteem, and admiration for his Christian devotion, as well as their prayers for his future welfare.

It was a meeting no less noble in its design,

than practicable in its effect. It was such a meeting as our faithful and untiring friends would have rejoiced to witness. Its object was the propagation of truth, and the triumph of correct principles. No rainbow of expediency darkened its counsels. There was no colonization fever, or Canadian song, to allure our patriotism—no fire-brand *badge of complexion*, like a blazing meteor, to explode in our midst, and consume order in one general conflagration—no partnership with oppression to shield "the church and the government under which we live from the 'blood-stained guiltiness of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men'—no 'timid time-serving priests,' to warn us of the danger of awakening the 'wrath of man,' " and the re-action of public sentiment, and to coax us into the lullaby mood of adopting correct principles when the world was prepared to receive them.

These were our old enemies; and in the language of Perry, "we met them, and they were ours." They battled with truth, and they had no weapons fit for the encounter. Where are they fled to? Let the roll book of our former meetings point to their homes! Where are they, with all that patriotism, humanity, and piety, that taught them to bedaub us with the title of "visionary enthusiasts" and "infidel theorists" for maintaining that to set up complexional distinctions, for selfish purposes, was contrary to the principles of God's moral government? How are they applying their wisdom and benevolence to improve the condition of their brethren, both *free and enslaved*? Is there any less need of general and combined effort to improve our condition now, than there was in 1831-2-3-4-5-6 and 7?—Would it not be of equal importance to meet annually to aid in the propagation of those principles on which rest our entire freedom, as it was in the years we have mentioned

* This was probably owing in part to our notice not having been copied by our exchange papers.

to meet and discuss about parliamentary rules—the soil and climate of the Canadas? We hope that many of them are active, and that there are many more, that have been sluggishly waiting to see what we intended to accomplish, will *now* see the necessity of buckling on the harness again, with a determination to do something towards elevating the character and condition of their down-trodden countrymen. We are certain many of them will be with us again. As an earnest of what we intend to perform by our future efforts, just observe the resolution to raise \$500 for the support of their Reformer the present year, and \$176, of the same was subscribed on the spot. Brethren, you may participate in raising this sum if it be your desire, and our agent will call on you during the year, and receive your subscriptions and donations. Every family that can read, ought to have the “Temperance Recorder” placed in their hands. There is a great work to be done; and plenty to perform it, if every one will but resolve to do his part.

It is true we have had a great and good meeting, but it was very defective in many particulars. There ought to have been 1000 delegates, composed of every complexion. A stranger coming in to view the meeting would say at once, that it was a colored convention, while our principles forbid us making such a distinction. There ought to have been representatives from every colored community in the free states at least, and one from every anti-slavery society and church in the land. We must meet together as equals, on the platform of our common humanity, as brethren, erasing from our minds every trace of those invidious distinctions that have been created by a corrupt public sentiment. The “corde of caste” is too deeply interwoven in the frame work of society, to be eradicated without a great practical effort. We must freely go to you, and you must freely come to us, must be the language of those that differ in complexion. Until that reciprocation of feeling is felt, enjoyed, and practised, neither slavery nor prejudice can be destroyed. There must be no barrier, or complexional

standard of duty erected between them. Their duties and interests must be alike. The colored people as a body, from a long series of oppression they have always received from the white man, are naturally led to distrust the motives of their best friends; and will be unwilling to participate with them where their privileges are not denied, but would willingly embrace those as their best friends that would meet with them. It is for this reason that they are inclined to keep away from anti-slavery meetings where they would be received as “brethren beloved.” As one of the great objects the anti-slavery society, is to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, we hold that our society presents the best theatre for their entire success, because it is based on the same principles, and points to the same practical result,—and because the very principles we entertain and practice, prepares the minds of our brethren for that union so much desired by the true friends of freedom. We therefore appeal to the friends of justice and humanity to examine the principles and bearing of our Society on the future interest and happiness of the people of this country, and give it that support, your love of freedom and republican principles demand. We believe that the great cancer that is eating out the heart of this nation, is *American slavery* and *American prejudice*. To destroy it, the original structure of Society must be re-modded, so as to allow the principles of the declaration of '76 to be carried out into full and proper application.

We are satisfied that the measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the American Moral Reform Society, if properly sustained, are capable, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of producing this happy result, and of saving our country from the melancholy fate of all the republics that have preceded it. Faithfully believing in the final triumph of the principles of liberty and justice, we shall faithfully maintain them. If the friends of freedom believe we are in error, they owe it as a duty to themselves—to posterity—the enslaved—their country—

and their GOD, to utter forth their remonstrance, in tones that would be heard throughout the land.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE A. M. REFORM SOCIETY.

The successful conflicts of intellectual power over the spirit of despotism, and the depravity of human nature, embraces the history of moral enterprise. The many brilliant achievements the former has displayed in changing the organization of matter, cultivating the face of nature, and giving laws to the human mind, is surpassed by the loftier dignity and more intrinsic excellence of the latter, while pouring forth in one continuous flood its renovating influence on the human heart by bringing into entire subjugation the whole physical powers to the great interests of the moral world—as well as its contemplated improvement of the present and future destiny of man in every age and every clime.

“Fiat justitia ruat cælum”—“Let justice be done though the heavens should fall,” was the indestructible motto inscribed on the first sheet that ever floated from an American press, having for its banner the “GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.” It was an oasis in the dark desert of despotism, that long overshadowed its brilliant illuminations. Its infant voice was heard by the demons of the forest, for its appeals were too potent to be lost on a guilty world. Individual conscience was smitten, and the spirit of humanity awoke from the stupor of death.

The stifled breath of inquiry soon began its contagious career, and with it came sympathy for the enslaved. From that period the prospective emancipation of 2,500,000 American bondmen, (children of one common parent, born with immortal souls, whose deathless existence fills the measure of two worlds,) was feebly entertained by those that were not entirely wrapped in the mantle of infidelity—engulphed in heathenism,—sordid avarice and mental blindness.

The faithful exposures of the conduct of

slaveholders and their abettors, by the press, awakened the ire of tyrants, until they became determined on its annihilation. The storm began its fury, and the only press that sounded the bugle note of freedom was placed under the ban and condemned to silence by slave laws. Its voice though crushed for a time, was not buried, but still sends forth its warning voice to the oppressor. It was at this period, when “darkness covered the land,” and despotism held almost undisputed sway throughout this republic, that the LIBERATOR came into existence. Although its conception was of Heavenly origin, it was born the child of persecution, and was cradled in the fiery furnace, amidst the scorching flames of despotism,—and like the salamander, it cannot it be destroyed in its own element. It has never forgotten its parentage, and consequently boldly defies every power that may be raised to crush it. While it breathes forth the spirit of peace, the storm seems to be its natural element. “It was born in it.” Its immeasurable strength is rarely seen, only in the boisterous and surging waves of persecution, and in extinguishing the volcanic fires that have been kindled for its consummation. It came into being in opposition to the spirit of all earthly power, and therefore it asks no protection from human governments—and seeks no physical redress for human afflictions. Its faith and hope are immovably fixed on the promises of the Most High God, and it breathes forth a spirit of pure, unmixed humanity commensurate with the existence of its author. When advocating the claims of suffering humanity it disposes of geographical lines and limited boundaries as mere prison-houses for selfish and sordid spirits. It contemplates nations as but “outposts,” and governments and men, when arrayed against the will of the GREAT I AM, as the floating paraphrenalia of a pestilential atmosphere. It acknowledges no earthly leader—no human creed—no national partition, but embraces in the chain of its generous sympathy the interests of the whole human race, without distinction, as to clime, country, or complexion. On its banner is inscribed the Christ-like

motto, "My country is the world, my countrymen, all mankind." It was at the establishment of the *Liberator*, this glorious sentiment received a generative existence, and an American baptism. And it is from the operation of these principles are mainly to be attributed the existence of near 2000 organizations for the benefit of the enslaved, and the elevation of the "free people of color." It was to aid in promoting these principles, and the measures of the anti-slavery organizations was the object for which our society was formed. It was the *Liberator* that first heralded forth the doctrine of *immediate emancipation* for all the slaves in bondage, and the elevation of the free colored people to the rights of citizenship. It was thus double armed; it commenced, with the herald of peace in one hand, and the sword of truth in the other, one of the most severe moral conflicts with expediency and despotism this age has witnessed; and on its issue hangs the future hope of the down-trodden slave—the interests of the whole colored population—the perpetuation of republican principles, and the triumph of Christianity. Tyrants have trembled from the very first onset. The cause of freedom has gained strength and power from every fresh encounter. The drooping spirits of the oppressed have become animated with inspiring hope. Every victory achieved plainly demonstrates that there is less to conquer.

The "colored people" have not been idle spectators to this grand and interesting scene. They have approved it by their lips—by the expressions of their primary assemblies—their labors—their means—and their prayers. There is no people on earth who would rejoice more than they at the ushering in of that newborn sun, that would melt the shackles from three millions of their brethren in chains, and banish the unrelenting prejudice against complexion, so that man might everywhere be recognised as a man and a brother." And yet, too, they are lamentably inconsistent. Born and educated in a portion of the globe where profession and practice differ so much from each other, they

have established just claims to "human nature" by proving that they are as capable of making their practices brand their professions with falsehood as "other men." They can exclaim as loudly against the unchristian prejudice that conspires against their interest, scourges their reputation, and assigns them a situation on the map of civilized society below the order of humanity—as the fourth of July orators can vociferate against despotism and oppression, while appealing to their bacchanalian audiences in favor of the "declaration of independence," "equal rights," and the inalienable rights of man," and yet these just and noble sentiments equally flow with freedom from the polluted lips of both, "while their hearts are far from them," and for the gratification of their own selfish and sordid interest, and not from those motives of humanity that teach us to regard the good of the whole.

The cause of truth requires us to assert that the statements we have given are not applicable to the whole population of these United States. It speaks well for the improvement of the human race, when we assert that it is only a large majority that are thus guilty of violating their most hallowed professions. Our principles forbid us to make a virtue of complexion, even if there were not already mountains of indubitable evidence, that the propagation of bad principles and evil deeds were not proved to have emanated from persons of every complexion.

We aim to maintain righteous principles, and to support such measures as will aid in improving the character and condition of our fellow men. We oppose every limitation of principles to suit the contracted views or interests of the few or the many, because the principles are by that means robbed of their universality, and are consequently destroyed. The practice of such a course in the physical organization of matter, would destroy the order of nature, and dash worlds together in confusion. The moral world is equally under the guidance of Almighty Power, and its equal distribution of happiness to mankind depends upon the proper exercise of those

universal principles on which it is established. The Christianity taught by our Saviour leads us to "love our neighbors as ourselves." We therefore believe and affirm, that those churches, whether white or colored, that maintain the doctrine that persons differing from each other in complexion ought not to be associated together at the same altar, and partake of like privileges in promoting the gospel of their common Redeemer, are founded on the rock of infidelity, and are unworthy of Christian patronage. To practice such a religion we need no God—we want no Bible. The same may be said of a republican form of government. In our own country the colored man has either no bill of rights, or else he is placed out of the order of humanity.

American slavery has so apparently abridged the moral relations we hold to each other, that it is with difficulty the public mind can be brought to acknowledge the impartiality of the great author of our being, in giving us equal laws for our government. It was therefore rendered necessary, as a measure of rightful expediency, to form two national institutions founded on the same basis, and governed by the same principles.

The hateful prejudice against complexion had so far alienated the oppressor and the oppressed, that it became equally necessary for both to study the principles of justice in the same school. Our hope of success, depends upon a proper and impartial application of these principles—without regard to clime, country, or complexion.

During the past year we have labored with all the success we could possibly anticipate, considering the limited means we were able to obtain. The committee appointed to address the "freed men" of the British West Indies have executed the task allotted them, and the same has been published.

Our readers will observe that the present number is dated September, while the number is correctly marked so as to continue the series.

THE DIGNITY OF THE ABOLITION CAUSE.

AS COMPARED WITH THE POLITICAL SCHEMES OF THE DAY.

Speech of John Jay, of New Bedford, N. Y., at the Fourth Anniversary of the New York City A. S. Society, May 8th, 1835.

Continued from page 128.

I propose, sir, to examine wherein the resemblance exists between the great body of abolitionists and these heterogeneous masses of men, with whom we are thus unceremoniously associated. I will place their general character and conduct side by side, and I very much doubt whether we shall discover between them even a shade of affinity—a color of resemblance. What, I would ask, in the first place, is the NATURE OF THE PRINCIPLES professed by the politicians of the day? Are they like the principles of abolition, fixed as the polar star, ever emanating from one high source; or are they fickle and wavering, as the winds of heaven, veering from quarter to quarter, as circumstances change, and at times so faintly exhibited, that it is impossible to define them with exactness. I am far from wishing to designate either of the great divisions of our countrymen, as peculiarly of this vacillating character; but that such has long been the case with regard to American politics, I believe no one will deny. I need quote no instance in support of the assertion that parties claiming to be identical in character with those that preceded them, are governed by very different rules, than the well known fact that the appellation and principles of the old FEDERALISTS, whose head was Washington, the framers of our Constitution, the founders of our government, are now scouted with contempt, as well by the whigs as by the democrats, and the very name one so honored, is bandied between them as a term of reproach.

The adoption by any association of men of expediency as a rule of action;—and this I understand to be a common principle in politics—at once creates a wide gulf between that party and the abolitionists. Our rule of action is the uncompromising one of justice, the unchangeable one of truth. Resistance to tyranny in its worst forms, and a consistent adherence to the maxim of "equal rights," which all profess and so few practice, is alone sufficient to prevent even an approach to affinity between abolitionists and politicians.

Abolitionists, sir, are not more singular in their fixedness and consistency, than they are in the DISINTERESTEDNESS of their labors, and the PURITY OF THEIR ENDS. Few will deny

What the aim of our politicians, with rare exceptions, from the veriest demagogue that fawns upon the great, and blusters in the tavern, to him who, aiming at the highest office in the people's gift, sells his principles for a paltry vote, is essentially, intrinsically selfish. But who can utter this of abolitionists? They have been denounced as incendiaries, stigmatized as fanatics, scouted as madmen, and ridiculed as fools; but which of their most malignant enemies has ever taunted them with selfishness? Every other charge, no matter how infamously false, or ridiculously gross, has been brought against them, and found some to give it credence; but credulity itself would laugh at the idea of their aim being selfish. Obloquy the most bitter, persecution the most relentless, has constantly rewarded their labors of love.

Their well tried characteristic, INDEPENDENCE, or as their enemies term it, obstinacy—that martyr-firmness, against which, soft words and hard blows have proved equally unavailing; which neither the cold looks of familiar friends, nor the heavy load of public odium, has sufficed to move; which has made all things great and small, personal comforts, private happiness, individual reputation, subservient to the one cause of human and religious liberty; this quality alone separates them at an infinite distance, in a moral point of view, from bodies of men, who are too often influenced in their public conduct by the hope or fear of personal aggrandisement or personal loss; men who change their creed as they change their clothes, without an idea that they are doing aught that is singular, or unbecoming; who, in the course of a few years, may have belonged to half a dozen parties, and publicly expressed various opposite opinions of the same thing. If the fear of losing office or popularity can thus suddenly revolutionize their principles, what think you would be the effect with them of the prospect of loss of property and loss of life—of those trials with which we all have been threatened, and which many of us have met. Yet these, instead of withdrawing, have attached abolitionists more devotedly to their holy work. Their voice has never sounded more loud, than amid the hooting of the mob; and the breezes of persecution, far from extinguishing, have fanned the flame of their devotion into a brighter blaze.

Equally, sir, are the abolitionists distinguished from all political associations by the interest felt in their progress throughout the globe. The paltry concerns of parties that originate and centre in self, influence, comparatively, a

narrow circle. Ours is the cause of *humanity*, and enlists the sympathies of the *WORLD*. In our own land there are many that oppose us, whom I should be sorry to suppose destitute of every noble principle or generous emotion; but it is because prejudice or interest blinds them to the truth, blunts their judgment and warps their feelings, that they can look with apathy upon the wrongs of the slave, and with displeasure upon the efforts of abolitionists. But leave the region whose soil is cursed, and whose almost all is polluted by slavery, and go where you will, from England to classic Greece, from the ancient kingdoms of enlightened Europe, through the more civilized parts of Eastern Asia, and the scattered islands of the Pacific to our western borders; in the North, and the South, and the East, and the West; wherever the pulse of human feeling beats in a Christian heart, or the throb of sympathy is felt for the destitute and the oppressed; wherever the light of the gospel has gladdened the soul; wherever virtue is honored and justice respected, and cruelty, and meanness, and robbery, and murder, are held in detestation, there shall there go up to heaven—and there does even *now* ascend in the remotest regions of the world—a prayer for the slave; a sigh (curse?) for the oppressor, and a blessing for the abolitionists of America.

Lastly, our cause is distinguished from all others by the glorious end it has in view. It unites the aim of the patriot, the philanthropist and the Christian. How petty appears the establishment of a bank, or a sub-treasury, when compared with the emancipation, the enfranchisement of a people—with the elevation of millions of men made in the image of Deity, from the condition of chattels, to the standard of humanity; the clothing in the mantle of freedom, a race of slaves, and pouring upon the unbroken darkness of their minds not only the glorious light of liberty and civilization, but the more holy and purifying beams of Christianity!

To break in *one soul* the slumber of intellect that tyranny has crushed, and warm the flood of feeling that oppression has chilled, has justly been esteemed a god-like work. What appellation, then, can be too glorious for a scheme which is to open the floodgates of light and knowledge upon a *NATION* steeped in ignorance, and ground down with oppression.

It has been deemed a noble task, to free an innocent race from usurped authority at the point of the sword, and though at each step, the earth drank the blood of the fallen, and

thousands of accountable beings were sent, without a warning, to the tribunal of their Judge; the painter and the poet, the historian and the philosopher, have immortalized the deed, and the men of succeeding ages have warmed into enthusiasm in admiration of the heroes who established the freedom of a few, upon the slaughtered bodies of a multitude. What emotion, then, I ask, should be aroused in our souls by the thought, that we are co-workers in a nobler cause than ever fired the warrior or inspired the poet; a cause which, by the blessings of heaven, shall be prosecuted with faithfulness, until *conscience*, a mightier weapon than the sword, shall pierce the oppressor's heart, and the voice of law—at length the voice of justice—restore to an enslaved people the rights of freemen. Nor will liberty be theirs alone, for from the dim shades of futurity I hear a voice arise, swelling with the tones of joy and thankfulness, to bless the memories of you, who amid obloquy and persecution, now are endeavoring to secure the dearest birthright man can inherit, to greet the entrance of unborn millions, into this world of sorrow and of crimes.

Such is the cause in which it is our privilege to be engaged, pure in its origin, consistent in its progress, and glorious in its end; and being such, I believe, and I could adduce sound reasons for the belief, that no man who professes himself to be a Christian, none who lays the slightest claim to the character of a patriot, none who pretends in the smallest degree to love virtue and honor justice, can defend slavery without the grossest inconsistency; and although it is esteemed a small matter in our day, for men in high station to say one thing and do another; to hold one principle to-day, and its opposite to-morrow, slavery involves them all in one grand, constant, irreconcilable, contradiction, which, until their characters are altogether blackened and their consciences entirely seared, will adhere to them as surely as fire burneth and pitch defileth.

You will not expect me to enter into an argument, to prove the assertion I have made, that no Christian can consistently defend slavery. This is neither the place nor the time for such an argument, which is ever an ungrateful task; for it seems like attempting to prove an axiom—like bringing the power of reasoning and illustration, to bear upon the question “whether night is day?” I may, however, be permitted to say one word in vindication of the Church of England, as it here exists, of which I am a member; and which some of her unworthy ministers have

dishonored, and foully slandered by proclaiming, in their official character, that the gospel sanctions American slavery. More especially would I do this, as among all her clergy in the United States, scarcely one has deemed it his duty to stand forth in her defence. With all their professed veneration for the church of God, with all their care to preserve unimpaired those outward forms, which without holiness are but as the sounding brass or the tinkling cymbal, they have been content to remain in a mute complacency, while God has been blasphemed from the very pulpit, and the church literally made to pander to the lusts of the slaveholder. He alone who seeth the heart, and trieth the reins, can judge whether any just cause exists for this cold apathy on the part of his servants, while he is thus openly despoiled of his honor; but it is very certain that they never learnt from the noble liturgy they profess to love, that it was right to defer to the fear of man, or to turn a deaf ear to the cry of the needy. On each succeeding Sabbath does our church teach us to “commend to the fatherly goodness” of our great Head, “all who are any ways afflicted or oppressed in mind, body or estate; that he would be pleased to give them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions.” Who, sir, with clean hands and a pure heart, could arise from this prayer to defend the further oppression of those who are already afflicted in mind, body, and estate? Who are oppressed, not in one way, but in every way; not in one particular, but in all. It is sufficiently harrowing to the feelings to let shuddering thought dwell for a moment upon the thousands who, wearing the forms of men, daily pollute the light of the sun with deeds blacker than the darkness of night; who without remorse, trample in the dust the children of a common Father, and quench the divinity that burns within them; without stopping to argue with professed Christians, clergymen, and even bishops, heads of God's church, whether such things are pleasing to Him who is Righteousness and Love. And if ever it is allowable for the blood of a Christian man to boil with righteous anger, and his pulses to beat high and strong with the throb of virtuous indignation, it is when he sees those appointed, as of God, to preach “peace on earth and good will towards men,” leaving the path of truth and following in the track of the slaveholder, announce to the flock committed to his charge, that the system of slavery is a good system, and those who uphold it righteous men, and those who oppose it fanatics and fools. I feel, sir, no

desire to convince such clergymen by any arguments from Holy Writ, nor indeed, to remind them of any text of Scripture, unless it be that one from the writings of the wise man, which assures us, "*He that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse; nations shall abhor him.*"—Proverbs xxiv. 24.

To prove that the support of slavery convicts our statesmen of inconsistency, I need only remind you of the maxims professed and taught by the politicians of America, I care not of which party, whether Democrats or Whigs, whether supporters of *Van Buren* or *Webster* or *Harrison* or *Clay* or *Scott*. Which of them has not harped upon the single string of "EQUAL RIGHTS" till every distinction of birth, and station, and intellect has been forgotten, and each man of us taught to believe he is on a par with the ruler God has commanded him to obey, and a feeling of insubordination has been aroused throughout the nation, from the stubborn boy who defies his mother, to the State Governor who defies the Executive. Is it not so? Have we not been told times without number that we stand upon a broad platform, where all are lords of creation, and no man better than the rest.

And at the very moment that these doctrines have been proclaimed in the ears of a credulous people, have the same oracular teachers descanted with equal wisdom, upon the propriety of depriving ONE-SIXTH of our countrymen,—not of political privileges, but but of personal rights; not the right of governing *others*, but the right of governing *themselves*. Ay, the same voice that welcomes the foreigner to our shores, whatever be his caste, and courts his assistance, in the administration of our government, whatever be his principles, is raised with equal earnestness to forbid the *native born American* to ascend one step in the scale of being from that depth of degradation to which his own countrymen have ruthlessly consigned him.

Gloss it over as we will—entangle it in all the metaphysical subtleties of political casuistry, and clothe it thus perplexed with all the brilliancy of a perverted eloquence, and the fact will remain as undeniable, as infamous as before. We may deceive ourselves, but we cannot deceive the world; and as well might we plunge into the mire of a ditch at noonday and deny that the sun was shining above us, as lost in the slough of expediency, and blinded by self-deceit, to deny the base, the tremendous inconsistency which exists between our principles and our practice. The world beholds it, and most heartily des-

pises. An all-seeing Judge beholds it, and will most assuredly punish.

To form some idea of the fearful departure, which slavery induces from the common principles of justice and honor, the existence of which are recognised even by politicians, you have only to look at American *statesmen!* in Congress assembled beneath the wide spreading folds of the star-spangled flag, calling themselves the representatives of a free and enlightened people, and unblushingly advocating THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE. In the plaintive tones of *Cowper*—

"Alas! What wish can prosper, or what prayer,
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair;
Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span,
And buy the muscles and the bones of man!"

And what can be hoped for from men who voluntarily consign themselves to eternal infamy, by lending the aid of noble talents and an extended influence to the protection of such an atrocious traffic, and call it *commerce*. There is nothing new in the misnomer. The British senate, in years long gone by, heard the African trade dignified by the same title, and the same demand was made, that it should be regulated and not destroyed. But no son of the pilgrims arose in our senate to rebuke the slaveholder defending the slave trade, as Fox did in that of Britain, to add the force of his eloquence to the power of truth, when he indignantly exclaimed, that "with regard to a regulation of the slave trade, his detestation of its existence must naturally lead him to remark, that *he knew of no such thing as A REGULATION OF ROBBERY, AND RESTRICTION OF MURDER.*"

Did my limits allow me, I might proceed to show more in detail, the influence exerted by the principles of abolition upon the mind—a matter too apt to be overlooked in treating of the question, and which has never received the attention it unquestionably deserves. The importance of fixed opinions, in giving stability and strength to the character, is admitted by all, and that the adoption of a consistent course of thought and action upon any one great question of morals, religion, or politics, exerts a powerful effect upon the character and life, never has been doubted. What then must be the natural influence of principles like ours, which, based upon Holy Writ, bear in every particular the impress of Christianity, which, although aiming at one, and that, seemingly, a simple end—the emancipation and christianizing of the negro race—embrace nearly every branch of Christian ethics, includes a great part of our duty towards God, and almost the whole of our duty towards our

neighbor. I mean not by any means to say that the adoption of the anti-slavery doctrines, as laid down in the constitution, will enable an individual to practice the duties of which they treat, for this would be attributing to mere abstract principles a power that belongs to God alone. But I do confidently assert that the receiving these principles into the mind, the firm conviction of their truth, and the consistent adherence to them, despite the ridicule or the opposition they may excite, must give to every man, whatever his creed or his profession, be he "Jew, Turk, infidel, or heretic," a higher character than he possessed before. And when the light of abolition dawns upon a CHRISTIAN'S soul, and dispelling the mist of prejudice, or perchance of self-interest, discloses to his view the glorious truth so often unmeaningly uttered, that in the sight of Heaven all men are equal, and entitled to the same rights; when it leads him to assimilate in this matter his practice with his professions, to call up every talent, to bring into action every tittle of influence, and strain every nerve to vindicate the purity of his religion, to redress the wrongs of the slave, and brighten the tarnished honor of his country; when it induces him for this cause to join himself with men of humble sphere, and become with many of no repute, and calmly to pursue the even tenor of his noble course, though friends desert, and acquaintance shun, and the world reviles him; upon such an one, if he be consistent in other things, the adoption of anti-slavery principles confers a lofty dignity of character, which no individual—I say it advisedly—however distinguished for his genius, his learning or his piety(!) be he layman or deacon, or priest or bishop, so long as he is the advocate of slavery, ever can attain.

If it were not descending from that high point of DUTY from which this question should be viewed, to a lower eminence, I might also dwell upon the immortality which abolition will confer upon its supporters, after they shall have left the scene of their labors and their trials, for that far far country, "from whose bourne no traveller returns." When their traducers shall sleep in forgetfulness, or be mentioned only with contempt, ABOLITION shall be to them a crown of glory. Laborers in the cause of humanity, the scroll of philanthropy shall embalm their names. Vindicators of their country's honor, the brightest page of her history shall record their deeds. Champions of the inalienable rights of man, the humble abolitionists of our day shall live in the light of song and the memories of the

good; when of the *dealers in men* no token shall be cherished, and no hand shall scrape from their forgotten monuments the obliterating moss.

Think not these predictions the result of wild enthusiasm or distempered fancy. They are the deductions of reason stamped with probability by the history of the past. The spirit of liberty in every age has wreathed a chaplet for her servants more glorious far than the blood-stained laurels of the conqueror. The voice of her defenders, after the lapse of centuries, finds a response in the bosom of every freeman. Their tones are echoed in the eloquence of the statesmen, and breathe again in the poet's verse, when the record of the conqueror serves only "to point a moral or adorn a tale." The annals of every land are blazoned with the deeds of those who "struck for freedom or a grave," while the vaunts and menace of their despotic masters have died upon the air, and themselves, high though their titles and proud their name, have gone down

"To the vile dust from whence they sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

If such the reward of those who have done battle for their own liberties, why should not an equal—nay, a greater meed of glory be awarded to those who, in the enjoyment of every blessing, voluntarily devote themselves to the cause of the destitute and the oppressed? Already are the people of England, and of the civilized world, doing justice to the memories of the philanthropists who would have buried slavery and the slave-trade in a common grave; and the day is fast coming when the simple announcement on the grave stone of an American, "*He was an abolitionist*," will confer a purer claim to the respect and veneration of those who may come after him, than the most flattering epitaph, that records, in the language of panegyric, the honors, the philanthropy and the piety of one *who claimed property in his fellow man*.

You need, however, no arguments of this kind to incite you to perseverance. The present teems with inducements, without calling upon the future—

"From East to West
A groan of accusation pierces Heaven!
The wretched plead against us; multitudes,
Countless and vehement, the sons of God,
Our brethren!"

and heaven is listening to the appeal.

That such a cause should die, is a moral impossibility. Our enemies mistaking, as I have showed you, its nature and character, have vainly imagined that with threats they could deter us, that with brute force and

full view, are fast receding into sluggishness | 1832, when the spasmodic feeling caused by

deadly violence, they could vanquish us. They should remember that if this work be of God they cannot overthrow it, and verily they have reason for the belief. Its progress as well as its principles testify to the fact. The dim sparks of abolition, which a few years since began to shed a glimmering light in the home of the pilgrims, gradually burst into a flame, which, fed by the oil of truth, and fanned by the winds of persecution, has gained new strength with the rising of every sun, and through the mighty assistance of an all-righteous Providence, shall cease not to burn until *slavery*, with its Heaven-defying, hell-born iniquities shall be totally consumed. Contending, as we have done, with powers and principalities, with the rulers of the darkness of this world, and with spiritual wickedness in high places, Romanist and churchman, dissenter and infidel, joining hands to oppose us; the mitre of the bishop, the dignity of the Executive, the purity of the bench, the sanctity of the pulpit, have all been prostituted to uphold slavery. Never, never shall they succeed. They must prove the Bible a lie, and the commands of Jehovah empty words, before they can show slavery to be right; and ere they think to crush the spirit of abolition, they must do what human power never yet has effected; they must quench

"Th' unconquerable mind, and freedom's holy flame," for until virtue is banished from the earth, and the love of liberty from the souls of men, so long shall our cause flourish.

The principles of our constitution must be forgotten, and the memories of our patriot fathers lost in oblivion, ere *Americans* shall cease to demand freedom for the slave. God's candlestick must be removed from our land, and its heavenly beams extinguished in a night of darkness, before *Christians* shall cease to labor for the eternal welfare of their negro brethren.

It was ably and eloquently demonstrated to you yesterday,* how great is the political influence which the free states may exert towards the annihilation of slavery. Let us then persevere, strong in the justness of our cause; strong in the weapons of truth, in the freedom of speech and of the press, in the rights of petition and of SUFFRAGE; strong in the assurance that by the slaveholder our power is felt and is feared; strong in the conviction that to us has been committed, and upon us in a great degree depends the *deliverance of millions of our countrymen in bonds*.

* Speech of H. B. Stanton before the National Society.

Let us, above all, ever remember that "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and that when we battle with the enemies of freedom, we are contending with the enemies God. It is His work in which we are engaged, and however much the wicked may oppose, and the idle laugh, the angry threaten, and the violent shed innocent blood; the hour is assuredly coming, and Heaven grant it may be soon when every slave in our widespread confederacy, freed from the manacles of bondage, and clothed with the panoply of freedom, shall stand a living witness that the foolishness of man is the wisdom of God, and the weakness of man is the power of God.

✍ We anticipate a rich intellectual treat for our friends in the very rich and eloquent speech of Henry H. Garnet, which we intend to publish in our next paper.

"Q, IN A CORNER." We have received two letters from "Q, in a corner," the first addressed through us to the American Moral Reform Society, then in session; the second, after our arrival home, through the post office, (post paid,) commenting on the formality of our proceedings. We would inform such anonymous scribblers that we can have no agency in laying their comments before our meetings. If the second was intended for the Reformer, we desire him to understand that our columns cannot be prostituted to the base purpose of assailing private character over fictitious signatures. If, as he asserts, that the "last two days of the session, gave him a clear view of the principles and designs of the Society, and that he heartily subscribes to them," let him come forward and join the Society, and aid in removing its "imaginary errors." If he fails to do this, we shall doubt his sincerity; and as he claims our acquaintance, let him be cautious, lest we expose his real name.

"THE FREE COLORED POPULATION OF THESE UNITED STATES."

Continued from page 113.

Our object in continuing these articles is to show that the free colored population, with the most brilliant hopes of entire success in

full view, are fast receding into sluggishness and indifference concerning their general welfare. With a host of friends to aid them; and the superior advantages that education and means have bestowed upon the rising generation, they are less devoted to the promotion of their general and future interests, than were their fathers, while laboring under a host of attendant evils, which are known to the present generation only as a part of history.

In 1817, when that "monument of oppression," the American Colonization Society, laid its corner stone in the city of Washington, which was dedicated to the "Goddess of Slavery," and that "infernal fiend," the prejudice of "caste, its twin sister, they simultaneously arose as one man in this city, and denounced its object and design. This remonstrance was followed up by others throughout the 'free states,' until there was scarcely a community of colored people to be found, that had not indignantly rejected the infamous attempt to banish them from their native land." This was undertaken at a period when it might almost be said in complexional language that "every man's hand was against them."

They then adopted principles, which, if they had been successfully followed up, were sufficiently broad to cover the whole ground of the present anti-slavery enterprise. The Southampton insurrection, and expulsion laws of Ohio, about the year 1829, involved them in another siege of persecution; and they again assembled in the month of June, 1830, to adopt such measures as they conceived might be most conducive to their future interests, when molested in their common pursuits of life by the relentless hand of tyranny. The subject became one of general interest, and the conventions were continued annually up to the year 1835, and during that whole period delegations were sent to attend the meetings several hundreds of miles, at a great expense, from the principal towns throughout the free, and a portion of the slave states, comprising altogether fourteen. In the year

1832, when the spasmodic feeling caused by the persecution began to abate, the convention assumed a political form with two contending parties. The former was for confining its action to the object originally contemplated, viz., the purchase of lands in Upper Canada, as an asylum for those that might be obliged to fly from their native homes on account of oppressive enactments. The latter were in favor of applying their resources and means to further their objects of improvement at home. The different degrees of latitude, as well as the different degrees of oppression under which they severally existed, brought local feelings, interests and prejudices into the meetings of the convention, until the usual slang of political demagogues formed a general characteristic of many of the most distinguished speakers. Northern and Southern interests were not unfrequently applied to the motives of each other, as conflicting with the general interests, (as they are used in the halls of the American Congress.) The contest continued to grow thicker, and the breach became wider and wider between the contending parties. Many seeing that the seeds of discord had become fatally sown, retired, without hope, while the majority, ambitious to promote the original object for which they had associated, exerted every nerve, *politically*, to overcome their opponents, and bring the business into its original train. The minority being equally conscious they were laboring to promote just principles, hoped to gain that ascendancy that would best secure the interests of the whole. During this time, both parties equally united in offering their protests against the American Colonization Society. The American Anti-Slavery Society about this period began to awaken the attention of the nation, and receive the gratitude, affection, and esteem of the colored people of the North. Thus situated, there appeared but little prospect that any general good would arise from the action of a body composed of such discordant elements. The two parties now about rivalled each other in numbers, and the latter, that had formerly stood in the minority in 1825, succeeded in having

the convention adopt a declaration of sentiment, and a recommendation to form a Society on the principles therein contained, to be called the American Moral Reform Society, without impairing the original objects of the convention. Thus, those that were most anxious for perpetuating the convention, had the opportunity of continuing its meetings undisturbed by those that had before opposed their designs. But the convention has never since assembled. The Society has met annually. A brief history from that period until the present will form another chapter.

For the National Reformer.

PROCEEDINGS

Of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Moral Reform Society.

The annual meeting for business was held at the Second "African Presbyterian Church," in Philadelphia, on Tuesday, August 13th, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The President, James Forten, Sen., in the chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Charles Gardner.

On motion, Mr. A. Harris was appointed Secretary.

Constitution of the Society read.

On motion, it was voted, That a committee of two be appointed to wait upon the editor of the "Public Ledger," (a daily penny paper, of this city,) to learn his intentions in regard to admitting in his paper advertisements for runaway slaves, such as appeared in said paper on the 10th, 12th, and 13th inst., and to report to this body.

After some discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

On motion adjourned to meet this afternoon at 3 o'clock, P. M.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. The President in the chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Harris.

On motion, it was *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare business, to be acted on by the Society, at this meeting.

Andrew Harris, Robert Purvis, Daniel A. Payne, were appointed that committee.

Mr. Harris, chairman of the committee on business, reported the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That we inquire into the cause of the want of concentration of effort among our people, and a remedy therefor.

3. *Resolved*, That every person who has the means, ought to obtain a good education.

The 1st and 3d of the foregoing resolutions were adopted. The 2d, after much discussion, was made the order of the day for tomorrow morning. Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, August 14, 1839.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. The President in the chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Rhodes.

The resolution, which by vote was made the order of the day, having come up, it was voted, after considerable discussion, that it lie over for the action of the Society this afternoon.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to draw up and issue a circular setting forth the principles of this Society, and to exhort our brethren throughout the country to co-operate with the Society, to carry out the principles which it sets forth—not in any one place, but wherever it is practicable. Adopted.

A. Harris, Robert Purvis, William Whipper, were appointed that committee.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, August 14th.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. President in the chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Daniel A. Payne.

The resolution laid over for the action of the Society this afternoon, after a protracted discussion, was, on motion, indefinitely postponed.

On motion, *Resolved*, That we respond heartily to the following eloquent and correct sentiments of our distinguished friend and advocate, William Lloyd Garrison, in relation to the American Colonization Society. Adopted.

"I, in sober earnestness, and in the fear of God,—knowing perfectly well the ground on which I tread, and the truthfulness of all my allegations,—pronounce the colonization scheme to be of the devil; meaning by that term, that all the elements of cruelty, oppression, and sin are embodied in its principles, doctrines, measures, and designs. It is not comparatively, but positively wicked; not incidentally, but directly evil; not slightly, but exceedingly criminal. I maintain, that it is not the fruit of mistaken philanthropy, but of unmitigated malice of heart; that its real object is not the abolition of slavery, or

the foreign slave-trade, or the regeneration of Africa, but the expulsion of the free colored population from our shores for bad purposes; that it is 'filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, maliciousness—full of envy, deceit, malignity—despiteful, proud, without understanding, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful;' that, like the father of it, it has been a liar from the beginning—now going about like a roaring lion, seeking whom it might devour, and anon, transforming itself into an angel of light. I affirm, that no man who understandingly comprehends it, and yet gives it his support, can be either a humane man, a true patriot, or a sound Christian.

THURSDAY MORNING, August 15, 1839.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. President in the chair.

Opened with prayer by the Rev. Daniel A. Payne.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to wait upon the editor of the Public Ledger, to learn his views and intentions in regard to admitting such advertisements in relation to runaway slaves, as appeared in his paper on the 10th, 12th, and 13th inst.

After considerable discussion, this resolution was adopted, and in conformity with it, the following persons were appointed the committee. Messrs A. Harris, R. Purvis, and Rev. C. Gardner. Adjourned.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, August 15th, 1839.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. President in the chair.

Opened with prayer, by the Rev. Stephen Smith.

The committee appointed to call upon the editors of the Public Ledger, having made a verbal report,—It was on motion,

Resolved, That every friend of freedom, and especially the colored people, should cease to patronize the Public Ledger, and every other paper, whose columns are open for advertising runaway slaves. Adopted.

On motion, it was voted, That, whereas, much of the wickedness, misery, and crime, which is found in the district of Moyamensing in this city, is the result of intemperance, therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to draw up a petition, to be presented to the Commissioners of Moyamensing, setting forth the evils thereof.

Rev. Charles W. Gardner, Wm. Whipper,

and Jacob C. White, were appointed that committee.

On motion, it was, *Resolved*, That this Society pledge to raise \$500 the ensuing year, for the purpose of carrying out its principles.

On motion, Messrs. R. Purvis, W. Whipper, and E. Jones, were appointed a committee to nominate officers of this Society, for the ensuing year. Adopted.

Adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING, August 16th, 1839.

Morning Session.—It was voted that Paris Salters act as chairman pro. tem.

Prayer by Rev. Charles W. Gardner.

The committee on nomination of officers for this Society, made the following report, which was adopted.

President.

JAMES FORTEN, Senr.

Vice Presidents.

JOHN PECK—Pittsburg, Pa.

JACOB C. WHITE—Philadelphia.

DANIEL YATES—New Jersey.

DANIEL A. PAYNE—Troy, N. Y.

Treasurer.

JOSEPH CASSEY.

Foreign Corresponding Secretary.

JAMES FORTEN, Jr.

Home Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM WHIPPER.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. BOWERS.

Board of Managers.

JOHN P. BURR,

JAMES BIRD,

BENJAMIN C. BACON,

JOHN D. OLIVER,

ROBERT PURVIS,

REV. JACOB RHODES,

THOMAS BUTLER.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the resolution passed yesterday, relative to the Public Ledger, be repealed.

This resolution, after a full and free discussion, was negatived.

Adjourned.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, August 16th, 1839.

Opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Harris.

On motion, it was voted, That a committee of three be appointed to nominate a suitable person as agent for this Society, for the ensuing year.

Messrs. C. W. Gardner, A. Harris, and John P. Burr, were appointed that committee.

The committee to nominate an agent, reported the Rev. Jacob Rhodes. Adopted.

On motion, *Resolved*, That licentiousness is a great and crying evil, and that a fair standard of justice requires that we should hold in disrepute without partiality or discrimination of sex, all who are guilty of the great sin. Adopted.

Moved, That this Society hold an evening session. Adopted.

Moved, That this Society deprecate the practice so generally indulged in, of feasting on "holidays." Adopted.

Moved, That every lover of liberty, ought to be a member of some anti-slavery society. Adopted.

By previous arrangement, the Society listened to a highly interesting address from Mr. Joshua Coffin, on the subject of slavery.

Moved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to Mr. Coffin, for his excellent address. Adopted.

The following resolutions were then offered, and after having been most eloquently and feelingly responded to, by the Rev. Daniel A. Payne,—were unanimously adopted.

Whereas, We have learned that our distinguished and pious co-laborer, the Rev. Daniel A. Payne, contemplates removing from his present scene of labors, to the British West Indies,

Resolved, That we cordially recommend him to the enlightened philanthropy of the people of the West Indies, and the grateful affection of the friends of humanity throughout the world, for his exalted philanthropy, enlightened wisdom, and Christian philanthropy.

Adjourned to meet this evening at eight o'clock.

FRIDAY EVENING, August 16th, 1839.

President in chair.

Opened with prayer, by the Rev. Daniel A. Payne.

On motion, *Resolved*, That so much of the Constitution of this Society, as relates to membership, be so altered and amended, as to admit persons without regard to sex, by signing the Constitution. Adopted.

The following resolutions were offered, and severally adopted.

Resolved, That we recommend to the young men of this city and county, to assist supporting all those Societies, which tend

to their elevation, such as Literary, Library, and Debating Societies.

Resolved, That the Board of Directors be requested to appoint a committee to confer with the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, relative to effecting their co-operation in the most favorable plan that their wisdom may suggest for improving the condition of the "free people of color."

Resolved, That we view with the deepest regret, that many of our population, are engaged in the ruinous and wicked practice of purchasing lottery tickets, and policies.

Resolved, That the usual method of attaching the names of the mover and seconder of resolutions in the printed minutes, be dispensed with.

Resolved, "That what is morally right for man to do, is morally right for woman," therefore, we earnestly and cordially invite women to co-operate with us in carrying out the great principles of moral reform.

Resolved, That the libellous letter against the character and condition of the "people of color," in this city and elsewhere—which appeared in the Charleston Courier of ——— emanates from a certain clerical "wolf in sheeps' clothing"—and who thereby proves himself a recreant to every principle of honor, gratitude, and truth.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the officers of this church—and the officers of this Society, for their fidelity and faithfulness in the discharge of their duties.

Resolved, That we now adjourn to meet in this city on the second Tuesday in August next.

NAMES OF DELEGATES.

Pennsylvania.—James Forten, Senr., Rev. Charles W. Gardner, Jacob C. White, James Forten, Jr., Joseph Cassey, Robert Purvis, John C. Bowers, John P. Burr, Benjamin C. Bacon, Joshua Coffin, James McCrummill, Rev. Jacob Rhodes, James Bird, Evan Jones, Samuel Nichols, Esther Moore, Elizabeth Proctor, Eunice C. Irvin, Eliza Bias, John D. Oliver, James M. White, Hannah Purnell, Emma Roberts, Margaret Peirce, Mary Bargas, Amelia Lewis, Sarah Sullivan, Mary Ann Whipper, Ralph Smith, Daniel Colley, James Cornish, Robert B. Forten, J. J. G. Bias, M. Wolf, John Lewis, Elizabeth Chew, Mary Bustall, Flora Randolph, Jane Lecount, Serena Brown, Grace Douglass, Isaac Wilkins, Rev. Andrew Harris, Thompson Taylor, Z. J. Purnell, David

Gordon, Isaac White, Robert Douglass, Benjamin Stanley, Francis Bailey, Edwin H. Coates, Nathaniel W. Depee, Peter Lester, Paris Salters,—*Philadelphia.*

Rev. Stephen Smith, }
Wm. Whipper, } *Columbia, Pa.*
Daniel George, }

Rev. Daniel A. Payne, *Troy, N. Y.*

Acknowledgment of donations received for the National Reformer.

Rev. Stephen Smith, on account of	
pledge	\$5 00
Joseph Cassey	5 00
Robert Purvis	10 00
James Forten, Jr.	5 00
Flora Randolph	2 00
George Boardly	1 00
James Forten, Senr.	5 00
	<hr/>
	\$33 00

For the National Reformer.

WEST INDIAN MISSION.

A society has been established in the city of Troy, by the colored people of that place, to promote the spread of the gospel among the freed men of the British West India Islands. Thus while some of our brethren have been contemplating the establishment of a commercial company to fill their coffers with the silver and gold of those islands, these Christian philanthropists of Troy have been considering the duty of scattering among the inhabitants of those islands, "*the unsearchable riches of Christ.*"

Citizens of Troy, well done! well done!!
ORIGEN.

We publish below an interesting account of the island of Trinidad. If the half be true, (and we have no reason to doubt but what the whole is so,) no ordinary inducements are offered to many of our people who are perishing for the want of such a field. We believe, under God, that those islands of the sea, (British West Indies,) are destined to have such a bearing on this country, as will ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery. We hope some of our brethren will avail themselves of the privileges here offered. We are opposed to any *general movement* for emigration, anywhere, among our people, but we can see no objection to individuals "*bettering their condition,*" so near home.

From the Colored American.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD, AND OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE DERIVED FROM EMIGRATION TO THAT COLONY.

The island of Trinidad belongs to the British empire. It lies only ten degrees north of the Equator; frost and snow are consequently unknown, whilst the air is tempered by the trade winds, which blow regularly from the eastward. The extreme heats of the coast of Africa, or of the East Indies, are never experienced, the thermometer generally ranging from 72° in the morning to 85° at noon; being the ordinary temperature of a mild summer in New York. *Flowers* are always in blossom, and trees always in leaf.—Indian corn, of which two crops can be raised in the year, sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, and pumpkins constitute the chief vegetable food of the inhabitants. Rice, also, grows luxuriantly, and yields abundantly; and every description of garden stuffs, such as cabbages, lettuces, beans, peas, cucumbers, tomatoes, and egg plants, can be raised easily at all times; all the fruits of the tropics, oranges, limes, lemons, pine apples, melons, guavas, pomegranates, bannas, sapadillas, sugar apples, avocado pears, called sometimes, vegetable butter, with innumerable others, grow and produce with scarcely any care and attention. The spices of the east may soon be made a valuable article of commerce, by an industrious population. Cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs, are found to thrive there luxuriantly. Of the latter, there is at present a stock of young plants in the botanical garden ready for distribution to any settlers who may require them. The quality of the nutmegs, has been tested in Great Britain, and pronounced to be equal to any brought from the East. In four or five years the young plants begin to bear, and require no more attention than an apple orchard in this state. The soil of the island is in many places of inexhaustible fertility, situated at the mouth of the great river Orinoco, it consists principally of the alluvial deposit of that mighty stream, and it is no uncommon practice amongst the sugar planters, to place their cattle-pens on the banks of a rivulet, for the purpose of casting in the manure, and getting rid of it with the greater facility.

The island contains about 2400 square miles in surface, of which not more than one-tenth has been yet granted. The remainder belongs to the government, and can be purchased by settlers who require it; in which case it is put up to public sale and granted to the highest bidder. The usual price of wild

lands, in the most favorable situations, has not exceeded two dollars an acre. It is invariably covered with a thick forest of trees, some of which are valuable as dye-woods, and others of the most durable description are fit for buildings and mill-works; besides those which are adapted for the ornamental work of the cabinet maker. With the exception of one range of mountains from 1200 to 2000 feet high on the northern side, the surface of the whole island is nearly level, but generally undulating, so that is naturally drained without trouble or expense. No part of it is encumbered with loose rocks or stones, even the mountainous range above mentioned is covered with a luxuriant growth of forest timber, and may be cultivated with cocoa, coffee, and pimento, to its very summit. It is the only British colony which produces cocoa abundantly. The chocolate manufactured from it, is greatly superior to that of the Brazil, and nearly equal to that of Carracas. From the light labor which its cultivation requires, and the cool shade of its beautiful groves, it has always been a favorite pursuit with the indolent Spaniards. Indigo grows everywhere as a wild weed; but it has never been cultivated, in consequence of the superior profit derived from the cocoa and sugar estates.

An article which the island is capable of producing abundantly, and of the finest quality, presents itself to the peculiar attention of emigrants from these states; namely, tobacco. A small quantity has been raised for many years, by a few Indians, composing a Spanish mission at Siparia in the centre of the island; it is used only for smoking, and has been pronounced by competent judges to be equal if not superior in flavor to the best Principe or Havana segars. The Indians are too indolent to raise more than they require for their own consumption, and the English planters are totally ignorant of its growth and manufacture. The cultivation of this article would seem to open a rich field of profit for enterprising men, and would require little or no capital to establish it.

Amongst the many blessings conferred by a bountiful Providence upon Trinidad, one of the most conspicuous is its entire exemption from hurricanes and droughts. These two dreadful scourges with which the other British West India Islands are so frequently afflicted, are unknown in this fortunate colony. Good water is consequently to be found everywhere, and the mountain streams are amongst the purest in the world. As the surface of the island is thus well watered, and naturally

drained, whilst the temperature is always moderate, Trinidad is found to be extremely healthy. Europeans shortly after their arrival are of course subject to inflammatory fevers, but the natives, and all the colored population, enjoy a state of good health and longevity not to be surpassed in any quarter of the globe.

This description has hitherto only noticed the agricultural advantages of Trinidad; but from its happy position it cannot fail of becoming the great commercial emporium, the "New York," in fact of that part of the world. Placed at the mouth of the splendid river Orinoco, it commands the commerce of a country as fertile and extensive as the valley of the Mississippi. "Port of Spain," the capital of Trinidad, has always been the mart from which the inhabitants of those regions are supplied with European goods; which they pay for in oxen, mules, horses, hides, cotton, indigo, tortoise-shell, dollars and doubloons, and in proportion to the growth of the population of this part of South America, must the commerce of Trinidad increase. The Gulf of Paria, which divides it from the main land of the continent, constitutes a port unrivalled in size and grandeur. Throughout this immense basin of fifty miles broad, and 100 long, the anchorage is good. Land locked on all sides, and exempted from hurricanes, it affords a haven of perfect security. On the north-east corner of this beautiful and placid sheet of water, the city of "Port of Spain," is placed, and a steam-boat running to and fro every day in the week, excepting Sundays, keeps up a constant communication between it and the southern districts. The streets are well paved—laid out in rectangular squares; and a stream of pure water is conducted by iron pipes from a river in the hills above, through the centre of its population, which amounts to about 11,000. Port of Spain is universally admitted to be one of the handsomest towns in the West Indies.

To be continued.

Rev. JACOB RHODES has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the 'Reformer.'

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.

New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.

New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.

" Burlington—Robert Taylor.

Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.

" Columbia—Stephen Smith.

" Harrisburg—Junius C. Morell.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 10.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1839.

VOL. I.

LUNDY HAS FALLEN.

Benjamin Lundy is no more. A mighty chieftain has fallen!! the Columbus of freedom to the New World is now chambered in the grave. In early life he boldly enlisted in the cause of the "downtrodden slave," and wore the livery of a veteran soldier in the cause of freedom and humanity, until his noble spirit was summoned to the court of freedom's God. "Peace to his ashes." His sympathetic spirit swelled the tide of national humanity; while his vigorous pen nerved the daring contest with the spirit of despotism. Armed with the panoply of conscious rectitude, he was courageous amidst personal dangers—the threats of assassins—the scorn and contempt of the multitude. His self-sacrificing spirit led him to abandon his home, his country, friends and relatives, to promote the interest of his "enslaved brethren." "When duty called he always obeyed." There was no field of prospect, however distant, that he would not speedily occupy; and as the "post of honor always appeared to him to be the post of danger," he sought that situation with the utmost avidity. The martyred blood of Lovejoy resounded from the plains of Illinois, and appealed to the champions of freedom, to fill the important post that had just been vacated by the Alton murderers. The appeal was not in vain; Lundy, with that ardor and decision that always marked his character, *immediately* resolved to leave the city of "brotherly love," and wear the mantle of his departed brother, or perish in the same glorious cause. But a different destiny awaited him—the protecting ægis of Providence preserved him from the fury of his enemies in this new field, and the honors of martyrdom. While his mortal frame yielded to the prevalent disease of the climate, his enfranchised spirit soared above

all the corruptive regions of mortal destiny, to take its abode with the God who gave it, there to join his noble compatriots that have gone before, of every country, complexion and clime. Let the soil of Illinois hereafter be called the "Westminster Abbey" of America, as it contains the mortal remains of the first Pioneer, and first Martyr in the cause of Universal Emancipation.

BUT BENJAMIN LUNDY IS NOT DEAD, nor does his *spirit sleep*—the narrow confines of the grave forms no prison house for his immortal spirit. It lives and moves with us in its native element. It exists and shines with omnipresent beauty and brilliancy throughout our land. Its appeals will continue to inspire with vigor the noble cause of human freedom, long after its fleshy tenement shall have become united with its mother dust.

HE STILL LIVES—lives in the hearts and memories of the friends of freedom, of every nation and every clime—lives in the affections of his colored countrymen, both free and enslaved; and will continue to live, not only in the thousand presses that shall pourtray his noble deeds, but he will adorn the historic page, and be adored as the apostle of liberty by coming generations that shall revere his memory, and "rise up and call him blessed."

The example of a good man never dies—the legacy of the wicked is their infamy; and those only truly die to the world, who leave behind them no monument of their existence. Let not "slaveholding tyrants and their abettors" rejoice in the demise of our friend. Let them not be blinded by the vain hallucination that the penetrating eye of the immortal Lundy will no longer be able to ferret out their iniquity.

The "Genius of Universal Emancipation" still lives, and breathes in an hundred presses, and its indestructible motto, "Let justice be

done though the heavens should fall," will freight every breeze, until the impending wrath of Almighty God shall burst forth in a resistless torrent, (from the clouds of his indignation,) on American Slavery—the sin of ages—and wash it into the pool of oblivion. It will then go onward inspiring the imagination of the poet, and nerving the pen of the orator. It will be sung as the funeral dirge over slavery in every land, and will form the great chorus at the general jubilee of freedom, when all mankind, of every nation and clime, shall become redeemed and regenerated by the irresistible "Genius of Universal Emancipation."

Our friend Lundy lived the life of the righteous, and the wicked have no cause for triumph in his death. All that is mortal of him is now enclosed in the clods of the valley. Let them not rejoice until they have consumed all his writings in one general conflagration—blotted out his name from every record—erased the spirit that animated him from the hearts of the friends of liberty throughout the globe—quenched the free spirit of inquiry—dethroned religion and humanity; and destroyed the Bible. Until then the warning voice of Lundy will shine like the hand writing on the wall, proclaiming to the oppressor "TEKEL, TEKEL," thou art found wanting.

But he is gone, and to whom shall we compare him,—not, certainly, to the hero of military renown, whose conquests are written in blood and carnage—whose trophies on the battle field cause the widow and fatherless to mourn—spreads misery and devastation throughout the land. Their names ought to be held in contempt, and their characters written on sand, as the enemies of their species—while every monument that is erected to perpetuate their memories, points to a murderer's grave. Let us, for whom he laboured, erect to his memory a monument more durable than motionless marble. Let us not only imbibe the principles he proclaimed, but practice the precepts he laid down, and reverence his memory by depositing his name in the sacred urn of our affections, and transmit the

same to posterity; and we shall stand before the world walking statues to his immortal honor, and living monuments of the final triumph of freedom.

From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

OBITUARY.

It has become our painful duty to announce to the friends of humanity, and to the patrons of this paper, the melancholy intelligence of the death of BENJAMIN LUNDY, long the faithful and persevering Editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This distinguished philanthropist closed his earthly career on the night of the 22d of August, from the prevailing disease of the country, the bilious fever. He had been unable to attend to the duties of his office for two or three weeks previous, but no alarming appearances were observed by his friends, until the day before his death.

Thus is the world called upon to lament the departure of one whose life has been devoted to benevolence and humanity—one whose strength has been exhausted, and who has literally worn himself out, in the cause of the oppressed and enslaved of our land, which, for eighteen years, has been the sole and engrossing object of his pursuit, and for which he has toiled unremittingly, and persevered with unwavering constancy to his end. Thousands of hearts, which already beat with thankfulness for his sympathy, will bleed with anguish for his departure—and unnumbered millions of disenthralled beings, in the course of time, will look back with joy to his earthly pilgrimage, and hail with blessings the name of the pioneer in the cause of their emancipation.

The philanthropists of this State have unusual cause for grief in this signal visitation. It was but lately that they were called upon to lament the fate of one who fell by the hand of violence and whose shroud is stained with blood—now another of the champions of liberty, permitted to labor for a season in this vineyard, by the inscrutable providence of God, has been taken away—he has finished his task and delivered up the trust committed to his hands.

And there are many relatives and friends who have been made deeply to mourn—the father is taken from his motherless children—another link in the chain of affection in their besoms is broken. They have the sympathy of a class who profess to feel for other's woes, of every kind, and in every creature—and let the balm of consolation be administered from

this reflection, that a virtuous life is spent and a glorious course run.

Honor to his name and labors, and rest to his departed spirit! When those who are now called great on earth—heroes whose course has been marked with blood and misery—shall perish from the memory of men and fade from the page of history, or be remembered in the lapse of time as the presiding spirit of the events of horror; then will his humble course of life be marked with beams of light imperishable—his unassuming spirit shall meet with its rich reward—and the fame of him who lived for others' good, whose glory was not in the battle-field, but whose empire was the human heart, shall be crowned with an unfading wreath by a world redeemed from bondage.

THE PRINTER.

A whig bid for the Presidency. We cut the following from the U. S. Gazette of the 7th of September.

250 DOLLARS REWARD.

Went away on Saturday, a Negro Man called about 40 years of age, about inches in height, rather stout, well made, and very likely and intelligent for a negro. He has made wrought nails, is an excellent farm hand, but would be a smart servant in almost any capacity. He took besides other clothing a coat, dark pantaloons, &c. If taken in Maryland and brought here I will give Thirty Dollars—if taken out of Maryland and lodged in any jail in Maryland, so that I get him again, I will give Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars.

JOHN JAY,

Near Hall's Roads, Ha. Co., Md.

The revolutions in public opinion are so rapid, that we scarcely ought to doubt any thing evil coming upon us. When the U. S. Gazette raised the flag for Henry Clay, we anticipated it would be under the necessity of serving up a dish to suit the appetites of the South. But we did not anticipate that he would perform the infamous task of aiding the *slave catcher*. But so it is, notwithstanding all his hypocritical professions about freedom and equality. We heard him about the year 1832 addressing a colored school in this city; and well do we remember the language he used on that occasion. He brought his little son with him, and turning round to his son he said, "my son I have brought you here to

witness the exhibition of these scholars, in order that you may be able to discover their mental abilities, and that you may learn who are to be your future associates when they and you arrive at manhood." Yet in 1839 we find this valiant stickler for freedom, intellectual and social equality, pandering to slaveholders, by advertising runaway slaves. Let the friends of freedom score his subscription list; that's the remedy for pocket humanity.

THE AMISTAD.

The news concerning the capture of this vessel, together with the circumstances attending it, have already been published throughout the country, and our readers are already in possession of information superior to any that we should be able to give on the subject. The rights of Joseph Cinques, alias Jingua, and his brave associates, have been discussed by the pro-slavery press, with an impartiality altogether unprecedented. There have, however, been a few presses that have clung to their idol, and denounced them as "pirates." Even these have proved themselves reckless to the great interests of "Southern institutions," by publishing the incendiary speech of their brave and heroic leader. Surely they will deserve to be branded as cut-throats and incendiaries for circulating his speeches through the entire South. Let *Amos Kendall* immediately see to this matter, and issue forth a general order to his tribe of subordinates to have all such papers intercepted lest they should fall into the hands of some American Jingua, or the Gabriels and Nat Turners of Virginia.

The slave trade has ever presented to the eye of humanity, horrors of the most infinite magnitude; which can only be equalled by the impudent effrontery, murderous spirit, and savage barbarity of its blood-stained, and thrice guilty perpetrators. Among the many black catalogues of crime that have stamped their fatal impress on the character of men, and consigned them to eternal infamy, there is none more worthy of public reprobation than the infamous card of DON JOSE RUIZ AND DON PEDRO MONTEZ. If it be possible that

the howling of earthly despots could bring forth reverberative yells from Pandemonium, surely this card of these man-monsters ought to excite the universal execration of all Christendom. What! shall they who have been the primary cause of all the murders and robbery committed on board the *Amistad*, attempt to "return thanks for their providential rescue from the hands of a ruthless gang of African Buchaneers," whom they had doomed to perpetual slavery? Who are the pirates in this case, the Africans or those that had robbed them of every right, human and divine? A reply that would assert the latter, would disgrace both our language and common sense. We know not how laws that are made and administered under the servile image of slavery, may decide; but we do know that "there is a law above all human codes, written by the finger of God on the heart of man, the same in all ages," that will decide that these poor peeled Africans have only put in practice the law of self-defence, which is justified by all civil governments.

The very men that now claim the protection of the United States government, are virtually "man-robbers," and ought to be dealt with as pirates, for they are equally guilty with those that stole them from their native land.

The Africans ought to prosecute them for robbing them of their "inalienable rights," and they should be held accountable for every life that was lost on board the *Amistad*.

If the Africans are condemned by our courts, a deep and lasting disgrace will fall on this nation. The cause of the Africans was the cause of Liberty; and Joseph Cinques and his confederates are every way worthy of being ranked with the best patriots that shed their blood in the American Revolution.

From the N. Y. Sun.

A SINGULAR SLAVE CASE.

The whole of the Particulars concerning the Spanish Schooner Amistead, which was lately captured and carried into New London, Conn.

No sooner had the proprietor of the Sun heard of the capture of the suspicious schooner, which has excited so much remark of late,

than he despatched one of the editors of New London, to procure further particulars. In pursuance of this purpose we have procured at a most enormous expense, a cut of the vessel, and a most accurate likeness of the chief who devised the plan. The portrait was taken by that most talented native artist, James Sheffield, Esq., of New London;—and is for sale at the desk, splendidly lithographed. It will be seen that our account is continued up to the last night, and embraces every particular connected with this important affair from the first to the last.

In the month of June last Don Jose Ruiz, a wealthy and noble Spaniard, left his estate at Principe and proceeded to Havana to buy slaves. At Havana he purchased 49 from a cargo which had just arrived from the Coast of Africa. To forward his purchase home, he chartered the schooner *Amistead*, Ramon Ferres master and sole owner.

Together with his slaves he shipped a number of packages, partly his own and partly on freight. The packages contained a regular assortment of goods for that market. There was some crockery, some copper and many dry goods, besides fancy articles for amusement or luxury. Personally Senor Ruiz had but little money on board, although the captain was supposed to have specie to the amount of \$8000 in doubloons. Besides this cargo the *Amistead* received on board Don Pedro Montez, and four slaves as passengers. The slaves of Senor Montez were from the same cargo as those of Ruiz, but were all children between the age of 7 and 12. Three of the four were females, and one a male. The crew of the schooner consisted of the captain, his two slaves, and two white men. The slaves of Ruiz and Montes were all Congolese negroes, only six weeks from the coast of Africa, four of which, at least, had been spent on the passage. One of the captain's slaves was a mulatto, and employed as cook; the other a black boy, named Antonio, who is yet on board the schooner.

The schooner is of Baltimore, clipper build, about 170 tons burden, 6 years old, and was called the *Friendship*, which being hispaniolised, means *Amistead*. She was insured at Havana to her full value. Senor Ruiz is insured \$20,000, and it is supposed that the rest of the shippers also were.

On the 28th of June, 1839, the vessel sailed from Havana for Guanaja, the port of entry for Principe. Among the slaves purchased by Ruiz was one called, in Spanish, Joseph Cinquez, who is the son of an African chief. This Cinquez is one of those spirits

which appear but seldom. Possessing far more sagacity and courage than his race generally do, he had been accustomed to command. His physical proportions are those best calculated to endure privation. His countenance when in a repose looks heavy, but under excitement it assumes an expression of great intelligence. His eye is that of a Spaniard, and can exhibit every variety of thought, from the cool contempt of a haughty chieftain, to the high resolve which would be sustained through martyrdom. His lips are thicker and more turned up than those of his race in general, but when opened display a set of teeth rivalling in beauty the most regular of those which we praise so much in Caucasian beauty. But his nostrils are the most remarkable feature he possesses. These he can contract or dilate at pleasure. His general deportment is free from levity, and many white men might take a lesson in dignity and forbearance from the African chieftain, who, although in bondage, appears to have been the Osceola of his race. In height he is just 5 feet 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, has a full chest, large joints and muscles, and built for strength and agility.

The head of this extraordinary man, now only 26 years of age, is one that, in phrenological parlance, indicates the strongly-marked character of its possessor. The forehead is high and perpendicular, no receding; it would most probably be called round. The organs of locality, individuality and eventuality are very prominently developed. Causality, comparison and hope, rather small. Language is very good. In this head the moral sentiments preponderate. Benevolence, veneration and conscienciousness are very large. Combative-ness and destructiveness are only moderately developed. Perhaps, however, the strongest points are adhesiveness and firmness. These indicate unshaken courage and intense love of home and kindred. He is, taking him for all in all, one calculated to excite the deepest interest in his behalf, and just the man to invent and become the leader in such an event as that which has thrown him on our shores.

For four days after leaving Havana, all went well except that the winds were ahead. Guanaja is only about 300 miles from the city of Havana, and is situated in the province of Puerto Principe, on the Island of Cuba.

On the fifth night, the captain being asleep on a mattress on deck, with his mulatto slave by his side, was attacked by this chief with a sugar knife. The first blow did not inflict great injury, for after receiving it he called to Antonio, also his own slave, and a cabin boy, to get some bread and throw it among the ne-

groes, hoping thereby to pacify them. The Captain defended himself bravely, but he was overpowered by Joseph, who split his head open.—While Joseph was engaged with the captain, three others were attacking the mulatto slave and the white men. In the meantime the other negroes were making the most dreadful noises imaginable. While killing the captain and the mulatto, the man at the wheel and another Spanish sailor, let down the stern boat and escaped. After the bloody business was finished, Joseph attacked Senor Montez, and would have killed him but for the interference of others.—As it was, Senor Montez received a very dangerous wound on the head, and another on the arm. When the attack ceased, Montez went below. Ruiz had been on deck, but no attempt was made to hurt him; Joseph followed Montez, and leading him on deck, tied his hands. Ruiz was tied immediately afterwards, and then both lashed together. Joseph and his three companions then went below and ransacked the cabin, after which he armed them with sugar knives, similar to that he used. This weapon is about 28 inches long, and three broad at the end. From that width it tapers off to the handle, where it is simply a piece of bar steel, about an inch square. There were but four muskets on board, and the use of these was unknown to the slaves. When the ransacking was ended, Montez and Ruiz were allowed to go below. Next morning Montez was taken out of the cabin, and although dangerously wounded, compelled to steer to the eastward. Having been master of a ship in early life, he understood boxing about without making headway. All this time the negroes pointed to the sun and then to their knives, and if for a moment the vessel veered perceptibly, they brandished their knives over the head of Montez in a horrible manner. The poor wretches knew that they had come from where the sun appeared to rise, but they understood nothing of navigation, and were easily deluded.

About two days after the rising they had a heavy gale, which had drifted them into the Bahama Channel. Here they boxed about again, but saw no vessel; at last, being out of water, the negroes ordered Montez to make the nearest land, which proved to be the Island of St. Andrew. Here the negroes met no one. After this, Montez steered for New Providence, but the negroes were not disposed to land.—By this time Joseph had learned to steer, and he took the helm in the day, leaving one of the white men to steer at night. Every night Joseph slept near the helm, and had two

of the most trusty negroes by his side watching, and ready to awake him on the least alarm.

During this interval the negroes broke open the hatches and pillaged the cargo. Among it they found wine, raisins and a great quantity of medicine; all this they ate indiscriminately. Ten died in a short time, and others would have done so, had not Joseph forbidden the rest to touch anything but what he gave them. Any infraction of this wholesome regulation brought down on the head of the offender a severe personal chastisement from the hands of the chief. Joseph lived abstemiously during the whole trouble, and insisted on the most perfect obedience to his orders. The only food eaten was portioned out by his hand, and not a box of the cargo opened but under his direction. He divided the spoil, taking the smallest portion for himself. He was the master spirit on board; every thing felt his influence. We confess that during all this time the whites were in a most wretched condition, and their hope of escape very small. In the night they steered to the west, and succeeded in persuading Joseph to keep to the north of east in the day.

About the fifteenth of this month, as the Spaniards supposed, for they had lost all knowledge of dates and days, they came in sight of Long Island. In the interval they had been boarded by several vessels, one of which supplied them with a demijohn of water.—They had seen many vessels and signalized them, but were unable to call their attention. When any vessel came alongside, Joseph would stand by Ruiz, the only man who speaks English, and watch him with fearful intensity.

The organ of communication between Senor Ruiz and the Congolese, was Antonio, the captain's slave. He is by birth an African, but has lived in Cuba 8 or 10 years. He speaks both Congolese and Spanish. He had been employed as cabin boy, and could Joseph have dispensed with his assistance he would have been killed.

On the 20th of this month they were hailed by pilot boat No. 3, which gave them some apples. Joseph having some fear of betrayal, would not allow Ruiz to speak with these. Pilot boat No. 4, came along side also, but they were not permitted to board. On the 24th they made Montauk light, and stood for it, hoping to run the vessel ashore, but they drifted up the bay. They then came to an anchor off Culloden Point, where the negroes went ashore to lay in water. Between the fifteenth and twenty-fourth they had anchored

about thirty times, at different places on the coast.

The negroes who went on shore at Culloden were almost naked, and the inhabitants were exceedingly alarmed. They were two days in the neighborhood without any attempt being made to arrest them.—Only in two instances did they succeed in bartering with the inhabitants for provisions, once for a doubloon, and once for a musket. While engaged in watering they were fallen in with by Captain Green and another gentleman, from Sag Harbor, who had visited the point on a shooting excursion. Captain Green immediately saw that all was not right, and gave them to understand that they should be taken care of. There appears to be something contradictory in the report of these gentlemen, who say that the negroes asked what country they were in, to which the Americans replied that they were in America. Then, according to the statement of the gentlemen, they asked the negroes if they had any money on board, and told them to fetch it. The negroes said they had, and went on board and brought back two trunks, which they said contained 400 doubloons. Captain Green said he lifted the trunks and heard the money rattle. He then told them that in the morning he would pilot them into Sag Harbor, upon which they returned to the schooner, taking the money with them. How this conversation could have occurred when not one of the negroes can speak a word of English, is a mystery to us, unless Capt. Green, or his friend, speak Congolese. However, Capt. Green is going to claim salvage, if he told the collector at New London correctly, on the doubloons. In that case, no doubt he will explain everything satisfactorily. We only tell the story as he told it to us.

Either before or immediately after Capt. Green and his friend had retired, the boat of the cutter Washington came in sight and boarded the vessel.—Immediately on seeing a gentleman in uniform, Senor Ruiz went up to him and said:

"These negroes are my slaves; they have risen and taken the vessel; that is the leader (pointing to Joseph) and I claim your protection."

Lieuts. Porter and Meade then immediately took possession, disarmed the negroes, and took the schooner in tow. Joseph on seeing this went below, and tying some gold about his person, he leaped out of the main hatch, and at one bound was over the side. While under the water he disengaged the doubloons, and came up about 100 yards from the vessel

having been under water at least five minutes. The boat was instantly manned and sent in chase of him. When the boat neared him he would stop, but just as it came within reach he would dive down and come up again some yards behind her stern. He thus employed them about 40 minutes, when seeing farther attempts useless, he gave himself up. When pulled on board the boat he smiled, and putting his hands to his throat, intimated that he was going to be hanged. Joseph was then transferred to the Washington, but he seemed so uneasy, and displayed so much anxiety to return to the schooner, that he was humanely gratified. On once more joining the Amistead, the poor wretches clustered around him, making the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. Some laughed, some screamed, some danced, and some wept. Joseph stood in the midst, but did not even smile.—When the noise had subsided, he addressed them in Congolese, which was translated by Antonio as follows:—

“Friends and Brothers—We would have returned, but the sun was against us. I would not see you serve the white man, so I induced you to help me kill the Captain. I thought I should be killed—I expected it. It would have been better. You had better be killed than live many moons in misery. I shall be hanged, I think, every day. But this does not pain me. I could die happy, if by dying I could save so many of my brothers from the bondage of the white man.”

By this time the excitement had risen to such a pitch that the officer in command had Joseph led away by force and returned to the Washington. Even this the hero bore with stoical dignity, while his poor countrymen uttered the most piercing yells. On board the Washington he was manacled to prevent his leaping overboard. Even this failed to elicit the slightest perceptible emotion.—This was on Tuesday. On Wednesday he signified by motions that if they would take him on board the schooner again, he would show them a handkerchief full of doubloons. He was accordingly sent on board. His manacles were taken off, and he once more went below to receive congratulations, even more wild and enthusiastic than those of Tuesday. Antonio was told to watch and listen to him. Instead of finding the doubloons, he again addressed the negroes, which, according to the interpretation of Antonio to Spanish, and from Spanish to English, by John Jay Hyde, Esq., editor of the New London Gazette, was as follows:—

“My brothers, I am once more among you,

having deceived the enemy of our race by saying I had doubloons. I came from them to tell you that you have only one chance for death and none for liberty. I am sure you prefer death as I do. You can, by killing the white men now on board, and I will help you, make the people here kill you. It is better for you to do this, and then you will not only avert bondage yourselves, but prevent the entailment of unnumbered wrongs on your children. Come—come with me then—”

Antonio made the signal and the unsubdued chief was dragged from the hold, again manacled, and put on board the Washington. While making this speech, his cheek shone, and his eye was often turned to the sailors in charge. The negroes yelled and looked as fiercely as he did. They leaped about and seemed like creatures under some talismanic power. On his way to the Washington the hero moved not a muscle, but kept his eye fixed on the schooner. On board the Washington he made a thousand gestures and motions to be taken on deck, as if on some urgent and important errand.—But when led up he only looks at the schooner, and remains with his eyes fixed upon her till taken below again. He evinces no emotion, and had he lived in the days of Greece or Rome, his name would have been handed down to posterity as one who had practised those most sublime of all virtues—disinterested patriotism and unshrinking courage. Now, most probably, he will be hanged as a murderer or pirate.

On Wednesday night, Captain Gedney despatched an express to the U. S. Marshal at New Haven, who gave information to his Honor A. T. Judson, U. S. District Judge. On Thursday morning both these gentlemen arrived, and after careful deliberation, concluded to hold their court on board the Washington, then lying off the Fort, within musket shot of the schooner. Lieut. Wolcott kindly offered the services of the U. S. Cutter Experiment to take all interested on board the Washington. The U. S. Marshal politely took us under his protection.

We have not been able to present to our readers the usual amount of editorial matter for the present number. The last month has proved to be so fruitful in producing so many interesting incidents, that we are obliged to chronicle as many of the events as possible. We do not anticipate that our readers will be losers thereby. We have been anxious to notice the case of Alexander Crummell, as

published in the "Colored American," but we have no room.

From the Colored American.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD,
AND OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE DERIVED
FROM EMIGRATION TO THAT COLONY.

The Gulf of Paria abounds with fish and turtle of the finest quality, and so numerous are the whales that Christopher Columbus named it "*El Golfo de Balena*"—the Gulf of Whales. Only two small establishments have as yet engaged in this valuable fishery.

On the eastern coast, a belt of cocoa-nut trees, planted by the bountiful hand of nature, cover the sea shore for an indefinite extent. One steam engine has been erected for the manufacture of cocoa nut oil, and the refuse of the pulp of the nuts is found to be an invaluable article for the fattening of hogs, and other stock; whilst the oil is a desirable article in all parts of Europe and America.—These nuts are to be had only for the trouble of picking them; are in quantities sufficient to supply a number of manufactories, and would alone afford profitable employment to a large population.

The great inducement, however, to an emigrant who wishes to raise himself in the scale of society, is the political and social advantages which the colored inhabitants of Trinidad enjoy over that of any other part of the world. Slavery has been utterly and entirely extinguished therein by the British government, and no exclusive privileges now elevates a white man above his colored brethren. A Council of Government consisting of twelve gentlemen, in which white and colored are mingled, are appointed by the Queen to legislate for the whole colony. Judges are also appointed and paid by the Queen to administer justice cheaply, and, as it were, at every man's door throughout all the rural districts. One of these judges is at the present time a colored gentleman, and more will be appointed whenever they can be found qualified by education for the office. A perfect equality, therefore, of respectability and dignity is enjoyed by the colored population, not only by law, but socially and practically throughout the colony.

All religious sects of every Christian denomination are equally protected and supported by the government. No tythes of any description are levied. The pastors of every church receive moderate annual stipends from the colonial treasury. There are at present in the colony nineteen churches and eleven cha-

pels, affording religious accommodation to a population of 45,000 souls, and whenever the inhabitants of any district are in want of aid to build a church or chapel, the government invariably grants from the colonial funds, a sum equal to that which the inhabitants may have raised by private subscription. In proportion, therefore, to the increase of the population, will their religious wants be promptly and satisfactorily supplied.

The number of public schools amount to seventy-six, at all of which children who attend are instructed gratuitously, when their parents are unable to afford the expense.—There are besides several private schools, at which children of all denominations are admitted. Great exertions have been made latterly in the colony to furnish proper instruction to the whole of the population, and the number of schools is fast increasing, among which those of the Mico charity stand deservedly highest in public estimation.

Upon a review of the foregoing statement it will easily be perceived that the fine island of Trinidad holds out the highest encouragement to the industrious and enterprising emigrant. Labor and help of all kinds is at the present time in the greatest demand by all the sugar planters. An able and willing man can there easily earn, between sun-rise and sun-set, by labor requiring no more skill, nor toil, than the ordinary weeding and hoeing of corn in this country, one silver dollar, and these wages can be earned every day in the year, except Sundays, as the moderate temperature of the climate never interferes with agriculture. But it is not to the mere laborer—to the individual who is content all his life to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, that this statement is addressed. It is particularly intended for the man of enterprise and ambition, who is determined to raise himself and family to a respectable station in society.

Let the reader only imagine an individual deeply convinced of the propriety of such a resolution, and the following is the course of action he would be recommended to pursue. He will shortly see advertised the name of a vessel engaged to carry passengers to Trinidad. Let him, then, leave his name and the number, sex and ages of his family who intend to accompany him, either at the office of the 'Colored American' or with the agent of the colony of Trinidad, or at other stations to be appointed in various parts of the country; and employ the time which will be allowed him previous to her sailing in winding up his affairs. On going on board, he will require to take with him only the wearing apparel, ne-

cessary for himself and family during the passage. Every thing requisite for his and their comfortable maintenance whilst on board, will be provided for at the expense of the colony of Trinidad. On his arrival there, the Agent-General of emigrants will visit the passengers the moment the vessel drops her anchor. The especial duty of this officer is first to ascertain that all the passengers have been well and handsomely treated whilst on board, in default of which the owners of the vessel remain unpaid. Secondly, to inform those who have money and wish to purchase land, how and where they can procure it, and in the best situation and on the most reasonable terms; and then to assist those who are without money in pointing out without delay comfortable situations; so that no man disposed to work shall be obliged to lay out a cent for the maintenance of himself and family, whilst in search of employment. So great is the demand for help, that he will probably have the choice of several situations. He can engage himself to a sugar or a cocoa planter who will readily pay every able adult in his family, male or female, eight, ten, twelve and even as high as sixteen dollars per month according to their respective abilities, and find them besides in comfortable lodging, food and medical attendance. He can contract for 12, 6, 3, or only one month if he pleases. But a sensible man will select a period of twelve months, which will enable him to witness a whole revolution of the seasons; to ascertain the periods to sow, and the periods to reap; to learn the best modes of cultivation, which vary something in every country; and to accustom himself to the climate. At the expiration of his contract, if a prudent and temperate man, he will have the whole amount of his wages to receive without deduction from his employer. This sum will then be at his disposal to invest in land, of which he will find no difficulty to purchase the best in excellent situations, disencumbered of wood and ready for cultivation at five to ten dollars the acre. He may either invest one-half of his earnings in the purchase of land, reserving the remainder for the support of his family until his crop is ripe: or he may invest the whole, and by his personal labor for two days in the week on any sugar estate in the neighborhood, whilst the other four are devoted to his own little farm, maintain himself and family until his own crop is ready for market. All his difficulties will then cease; for there is nothing which he or they can raise, which will not find a ready sale at profitable prices.

The present inhabitants attend to little but the cultivation of sugar, cocoa and coffee. The corn consumed by the population of Port of Spain is, much of it, brought from Connecticut, and great part of the remainder from the South American continent. Poultry, pigs, even plantains and melons, are largely supplied for consumption of the city by the Spaniards in the adjoining provinces, whose launches and canoes are seen every morning at the wharves disposing of those small articles. If these indolent Spaniards, residing at a distance, can pay the expense of transportation and make money by such a traffic, it is easy to calculate the large profit which may be made by an active man with an active family, raising the same articles at home. In this way, by saving his profits, he may continue to increase his farm by annual purchases of land; or he may procure a grant from the government and commence on a larger scale. He will find no want of good examples before him to point the way. There are now not less than a dozen colored proprietors, owning valuable sugar estates, besides many in possession of plantations of coffee and cocoa. All these brilliant advantages an industrious and saving man may easily realize in Trinidad, although he should now leave these United States without a single cent in his pocket.—But let him never forget this advice. He must continue always to be industrious and sober. For the idle and intemperate can and will succeed no where.

The island of Trinidad is distant from New York about 2000 miles; with a fair wind therefore the passage may be easily made in 12 or 14 days; but three weeks may be considered an average voyage, without fear of disappointment.

Independently of the ordinary opportunities by merchant ships, a British packet sails regularly every fortnight from thence to the island of St. Thomas; and from the latter port vessels are sailing to New-York and other parts of the United States every week.

An emigrant, therefore, in Trinidad, would not find himself shut up in a distant part of the globe, in the midst of barbarians; but surrounded by a free, happy and prosperous population, could constantly correspond by letter with his friends and relatives; could safely and easily remit to them money, by order of the colonial bank in Trinidad on their agents, Messrs. Maitland, Kennedy & Co. in this city; and whenever the fancy seized him, could, as easily pay a sudden visit to his associates, and the land of his birth.

For the National Reformer.

AN ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF TROY, N. Y.

On First August, 1839.

BY HENRY H. GARNET.

The following eloquent oration was delivered in the city of Troy, on the 1st of August last. The citizens of Troy being highly pleased with it, voted its publication, and respectfully requested Mr. Garnet to give it for publication, to which request he consented. It is a beautiful picture of the mind of the eloquent speaker, and we recommend it to the careful perusal of our readers.—D. A. P.

Friends and Fellow Citizens.—Situated as I am at this period of my life, had I appeared before you upon a less important occasion, I might justly be held up to censure. But, however sweet the music of the streams that murmur through the academic groves, may seem to be, yet far sweeter are the anthems of freedom. It is the distant voices of free-born souls that have brought me hither—it is the shouts of the islanders of the sea, that come careering upon every wave that rolls westward. Bright, and glorious must be that event in the annals of time, which shall eclipse this triumph of righteous principles, over which we have this day met to rejoice. And if these blessings are not *immediately* ours, they are *remotely*. The light which the present epoch of English history shall display among "ocean's golden isles," shall reflect over all the dark places of the earth—the dungeons of cruelty—the prison-houses of despair, and the tombs of buried rights, shall be illumined by it. The bloody man-thief and heartless human robber may exhaust all their store of fiendish torture in order to hush the hosannas, but it is all in vain. Should they go down to the pit, and conjure up every fiend that suffers these to come on earth, and set up one hideous yell; still, from the shores of the Potomac, to the banks of the Sabine, it will be made known, if it is not proclaimed aloud, it will be whispered in the breeze.

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the history of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, therefore, let it suffice to say, that after many years of the most arduous struggle, the philanthropists of Great Britain secured for their oppressed brethren the enjoyment of their rights. The first efficient act in regard to the subject, placed the death of slavery at 1840; and thus the friends of

humanity subscribed to the doctrine of gradual emancipation. But discovering their error in thus grossly violating principle, and being desirous to atone for the mistake, they caused the act to be rescinded, and terminated the existence of slavery immediately. Therefore, on the first of August 1838, at twelve o'clock, at midnight, the hoary-headed monster, died, at his late residence, in the British West Indies. He did not die of a long, and painful illness of two years, as at first it was feared he would, but he died suddenly of that sin-destroying complaint called immediatism. His death occasioned great joy, and loud acclamations. His funeral was numerously attended, there being present no less than 800,000 persons. They buried him in the "deep, deep sea," and long may the waves roll over him. Let there be no trace of his foot-prints left upon the soil which he once trod. Let no monument be erected to perpetuate his memory—let the evils of his long life be interred with him.

The sun never rose so brightly upon those islands, as on that day; nor the arch of heaven never re-echoed back to the earth such a general burst of thanksgiving, as when glorious Britannia proclaimed to the world—

"Thy chains are broken, Africa be free."

But even a sentiment so God-like, and mellifluous, failed not to arouse the ridicule of the enemies of freedom. Republican America was full of apostolic seers, who looking forward to days that are yet to be, saw once populous cities reduced to ashes, and plantations lying in ruins. They heard the shrieks of infants, and the groans of mothers. So sanguine were they of the truthfulness of what they saw, and heard, that already they had enrobed themselves in sack-cloth and ashes, and commenced their lamentations—saying alas! alas! how have they fallen!

But notwithstanding all this, a year has passed, and the productions of the colonies have increased. Infinitely more peace has been enjoyed by the emancipators, and the emancipated, and good-will, and patriotism pervades the bosoms of her majesty's subjects in the West Indies. Thus time has proved these prognosticators to be liars—they are false prophets, and it is vain that they cry O Baal! O Baal!

Our brethren celebrated the birth-day of their liberty in far more becoming manner than our fourth of Julys are generally celebrated. They did not spend their money for gun-powder and ruin; but they brought their gifts to the altar, and fire, as it were, fell from heaven, and alighted upon them.

Slavery cannot exist long any where. There is so much light abroad, that it must soon be driven from the earth. The spirit of liberty is on the wing, and what power that would can impede its flight. In the American revolution we discover the first movings of this spirit in the Western world, and soon St. Domingo followed in the path to freedom and glory. And viewing things in the light of the past, I am led to believe that if England had not suffered truth to consummate the overthrow of slavery in her dominions, most certainly, her oppressed subjects would have followed successfully the example of Hayti. And who doubts that if America will not permit slavery to be abolished by moral means, that her sons goaded on as they are, to such a step, will be awakened by nature's voice to take the example which she herself has set. I would not attempt to make an apology for uttering these remarks. I consider myself no less a lover of my country, because I do not cry "there is no danger" while destruction is suspended over us. Should I speak the sentiments of my heart, I would say, let the "sword rust in the scabbard," and all other implements of war be converted into implements of husbandry. Whether by peaceful means slavery in our country will be abolished, I know not, but that it will be done away, and that very soon, I am just as certain as I am that God rules the armies of heaven.

However, I am glad to know that my brethren at the South believe that the abolitionists of the North are doing something to relieve them from their wretched condition: for should the time come when they shall be cut off from this hope—driven as they will be in such an instance to desperation, they will strike for freedom or the grave. And the departed spirits of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, together with those of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and those of all the heroes of the Revolution, whose blood was shed, on the fields of Saratoga, Yorktown or on Bunkerhill, would arise from their tombs, and say, *Amen*. For they have declared to the world, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We have not met together on this occasion, my friends, so much to celebrate the day which gave new life to our brethren in the West Indies, as to be encouraged by the event to do something to bring about the time when we shall meet to rejoice over our own enfranchisement.

Permit me, then, to occupy a few moments

of your time in presenting to your consideration a subject which is not less important, than the most momentous department of reform that may engage your attention. It is of great import to us, because it has a mighty bearing upon our standing as men—because it sustains an intimate relation to our advancing well-being, morally and politically—because if it is still neglected as it has been hitherto, centuries yet to come will roll by, and swell the number of centuries that have gone, and as each dark succeeding year passes on, we will hear mournfully chanted in our ears the dirge of our moral and intellectual death. But if it is attended to, the day of redemption is certain and nigh at hand.

What I would recommend to your attention, is the necessity there is of our young men and women, becoming acquainted with literature, the sciences, and the trades.

Just and pure motives, my friends, should govern all the actions of our lives; and certainly our measures in regard to these things should be regulated by the same righteous rule. Some people leave their accustomed employment, though honest it may be, simply because they are too proud to remain in it, and too proud to be numbered with their fellow laborers of the same calling. Such a spirit should be repudiated wherever it is found. "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." Let motives becoming a people struggling for their lost rights actuate us. Let us become artizans and scholars, because, in this way, we can make our exertions the most subservient to our welfare, both morally and intellectually.

I am one of those who have no communion with the miserable belief of fatalism, which generally manages somehow or other to find its way into the minds of those who are oppressed, and prevails upon them to adopt as unerring truth, the sentiment, that whatever *is* was *meant*, or *designed* to be from all eternity. I hold that grievances arising from the enactments of wicked laws, are liable to be modified in a great degree by those who suffer from them. I believe that men are free political agents, as well as free moral agents. This belief is the ground-work upon which my faith in this matter is established. I believe that prejudice, which is nothing but a spoiled child of wicked laws, and a cruel public sentiment, that coaxes its parents to do any thing, can be removed by removing that upon which he feeds.

Then the inquiry may very justly be raised, what are the barriers that keep us from the enjoyment of our heaven-granted rights? I

answer, they are the results of our not occupying those stations in literary, scientific and mercantile life, which are held by those who oppress us.

But, I am aware, that there are many who contend that all our grievances arise from a natural prejudice against our complexion. Such a belief, my friends, is futile and fallacious in the extreme. For proof, I would refer you to the little white child of the South. Does he manifest any dislike, as he draws his chivalry and nourishment from his colored nurse? If still more proof is required, go and ask your Southern planters and Congressmen. And while the one, perhaps, flourishing his whip in the air, declares that his brethren are his property; the other will arise from his seat and avow that *twelve hundred millions of dollars*, are too much for the South to loose—and to crown the whole, the good-natured slaveholding Vice President of republican United States, with his two colored daughters hanging upon his arm will tell you, that it is even so. Let the time come when the traders in human flesh, cannot fill their pockets with the wages of those who have reaped down their fields, and the system will fly as upon the wings of the wind. Then where will be prejudice, with all its imagined omnipotency? Buried and forgotten. We are told that the nature of man is the same, the world over—still, if you will but cross the ocean, and go into Turkey, you will find colored men regarded according to their moral worth, while the white Greek is oppressed wherever he is found. In view of these facts, who will say that the Greek is enslaved on account of his complexion, when it is the same as that of his oppressors. Or, who will say that prejudice, which is said to be natural, can be so softened and modified by crossing the ocean, that in the streets of Great Constantinople, colored men holding offices can be saluted and embraced at public festivals, amid the loud acclamations of gazing and delighted multitudes? Away with such logic. If prejudice looketh out of natural eyes, most certainly his sight begins to fail him in consequence of his advanced age. For he cannot see to make an accurate selection of his victims, for ever he seizes upon a white man, and anon upon a colored one.

The reason of my dwelling thus upon this subject, is, that I desire to remove the frightful image that stands in the way to our improvement.

I verily believe, that if the first of our ancestors who were brought to this, and other slaveholding countries, had scattered among

them such men as St. Augustine, Origen, Hannibal, and the like, we their descendants would this day be looked upon as the most excellent of mankind. But our appearance among them was far otherwise. We came as humbled captives, and were doomed to occupy such stations as would degrade any people—Jew or Pole, Greek or African.

If we have found the root of the evil, let us aim at it the deadly invincible blow.

Men are sometimes placed in such circumstances, that if they demand and secure their rights, they may cause those who have withheld them some inconvenience. Even in such cases the gifts of heaven should be guarded and defended, and if lost, should be sought for at any expense. The talents committed to our keeping by the Almighty, the author, and fountain of freedom and justice, should be retained pure and inviolate. All who are so indolent and spiritless as to suffer those rights to be buried or taken away with impunity, are unfaithful servants. To such no pledge is sacred, let it be taken wherever it may—whether at the altar of the Lord, or upon the most holy grounds of domestic bliss upon which is established the hope of happiness here and hereafter. Unworthy are they to be called men, who are merely required to exert their moral and intellectual powers, together with a necessary and an indispensable degree of physical action, in order to secure to themselves the greatest enjoyments, and still remain inactive. Such are prodigals, and are fast destroying their patrimony by the most criminal imbecility and enervation.

By elevating ourselves through the medium of useful knowledge, so far from injuring our enemies, we would diminish their guilt, and at the same time beget to ourselves the greatest good.

Let me entreat you, my friends, to attend to these things; for upon them depends your comfort in this world; and in a great degree your happiness in the world to come. Be entreated to get wisdom, remembering that "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." If I supposed for a moment, that pure religion and undefiled, would decrease as intelligence advanced, I should be far from occupying my present position. But I know that all real wisdom is founded in religion and morality. I know that "literature and science have ascended calvary, and entwined their wreaths around the cross."

In looking over the histories of those Nations which have been distinguished for their excellence,—and in marking them in every step from rude barbarism, to the highest point

of their civilization, I have found that the arts and sciences have been their faithful leaders. If they have fallen—if the rank weed waves over the ground, or if the merciless ploughshare is driven where once stood the magnificence of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; it is because these honorable sisters have been despised and neglected. Rome crumbled not in the hands of the barbarian, until the hammer, the anvil, the chisel and the brush, and the implements of husbandry were laid aside, for luxury and licentiousness. And amid the ruins of Greece was found an altar to the unknown God.

If those who possess the free enjoyment of their rights, cannot retain them without a constant attention to the various relations that cluster around life, how can it be expected that they who have them not, can secure them without putting forth the same or greater exertions?

My brethren, God has given us our lives in the midst of glorious days. The spotless banner of truth is waving in the breeze, and the friends of reformation are crowding to the field. Who will join our ranks? We invite all. If the sire is here who is bearing about the snowy burden of three score years, we invite him to come. Let the man in the prime of life put on the armor. We appeal to the youth who are glowing with ardor and generous ambition. In this warfare woman, too, can engage, for

"Ours is not the tented field,
We no deadly weapons wield."

Ladies of the Benevolent Society and the Wisdom's Institute, never let the fire grow dim which you enkindled upon your altars. Continue to exert that hallowed influence in the social walks of life which is at your command. Remember that that fireside alone is happy, and that home sweet, where dwells intelligence, cheerfulness, and piety. Elevate your standard high, and take this for your motto, "loving wisdom, we investigate." Do this and you shall not be the least among the daughters of your people.

To conclude, fellow-citizens, I would say, that while we have many things to dishearten and depress us, we have much to encourage and to cheer us.

It is pleasing to know that when the friends of freedom here at home, are baring their bosoms to the most untoward public sentiment, the streams of truth are rolling over half the world. Egypt, that has long been wrapt in ruins and enveloped in gross darkness, has placed the torch of liberty upon her cloud-capp'd pyramid, and the land of the

Nile has given freedom to the slave. Gallant France is arousing her sons. And Great Britain, having abolished slavery in her own dominions, has snatched the trumpet with which she hopes to awaken the most distant nations of the earth, to comfort bleeding humanity, and to embrace holy freedom.

Brethren, that undying, animating spirit that has long stood in the distant future, is now advancing, shining like the angel of the morning upon the hills, glittering brighter as it moves onward—

"Spirit of liberty! on,
Oh, pause not in thy flight;
Till every clime is won—
Till every land is bright."

We publish the following extract from the letter of John Jay, son of Wm. Jay of Bedford County, N. Y., and author of the very able speech published in our last two numbers, entitled "The dignity of the Abolition Cause. He has proved himself a worthy son of a noble parentage.

NEW YORK, Sept. 21st, 1839.

MR. EDITOR:

SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of a note from you, and two bundles of the "National Reformer;" for which you will please accept my thanks. Absence from home, and other causes, have prevented me from making an earlier reply. I have perused several Nos. of the Reformer with great pleasure. It is marked with ability and good sense, and must meet with the encouragement it so well deserves. I annex a check for \$5, and will thank you to put my name on your books as a subscriber.

JOHN JAY.

PITTSBURG CONFERENCE.

The Conference of the "African Methodist Episcopal Church," that was held at Pittsburg in the early part of last month, was well attended, and is said to have exceeded in interest all former meetings of the kind. We have received a very interesting letter from our friend Peck, stating that the Conference manifested great interest in the cause of "Moral Reform," and adopted strong resolutions in favor of Temperance. Some of the delegates travelled fifteen hundred miles, on horseback, and reposed for several nights in succession, in the lonely forest, with no other covering than their blankets, with their saddle bags for a pillow. They sent us a handsome appendage to our subscription list.

ACTION! ACTION!

The Young men's M. R. Society of Pittsburgh appear to be *practically* carrying out their principles, for while fools are running foot races, they are running with their pens. There were several competitors for a prize medal, to be given to the one that could write the Lord's prayer in the smallest space. The prize was awarded to M. R. Delany. A sample of the same has been sent us; it is about the size of a sixpence.

We refer our readers to the communication of "O. S. M." for a description of the "Beauties of Philanthropy." It is a rare and valuable work, worth five times the price it is sold for. The author desires to return his thanks to our Society for aiding him by the purchase of 100 copies.

Exchange papers will please direct to Columbia, Pennsylvania.

A NEW SOCIETY.

Our Agent (the Rev. Jacob Rhodes) has been lecturing with much success in various parts of this State. In a letter just received from him, he states that he addressed a large meeting of persons on the subject of Moral Reform, at Reading. A society consisting of twenty-five members was formed auxiliary to the A. M. R. S. He closes his letter with these remarks:—"Our desire is to have the principles of the A. M. R. S. pressed home to the minds and consciences of every one, 'till scepticism shall yield to conviction, and apathy give place to simultaneous efforts."

For the National Reformer.

An appeal to the patriotic, parental, and philanthropic citizens of Philadelphia.

A valuable book, recently prepared and published by the capitalist, philanthropist and patriot of Albany, the anonymous author of the "Spirit of Humanity," "Liberty," &c. &c. &c., has been presented to us by a friend. It gives us pleasure to notice a philanthropic and meritorious work, calculated to promote the best interest and true happiness of the rising generation amongst so many millions, only prepared and published for their amusement. It is intended by its patriotic author,

and I may add well calculated, to consolidate and perpetuate our Federal Union!—conciliate and concentrate our fierce contending parties!!—vindicate the rights of man!!!—advocate the rights of women!!!!—inspire our young citizens with patriotic emulation!!!!—and last, though not least, defend the innocent, artless, unsuspecting, beautiful female from our too successful adepts at seduction!!!!—It appears that this rich, great, and good man, takes peculiar delight in doing good, or as the editor of the "Youth's Cabinet" truly observes "he is a good man who does much good without letting folks know his name." Such is his retiring modesty, that he prohibits the many recipients of his princely presents and benefits to mention his name. Though I greatly admire modest merit, I would with great deference and veneration respectfully suggest viz.:—would not this excellent philanthropist, this modest patriot, do more good by suffering himself to be known to the community, and thus put our numerous selfish anti-philanthropists to the blush? Was this second Dr. Franklin, like him, to appear in his proper character, this brief encomium would be unnecessary. His work would then be received and read with pleasure and profit by a gratefully admiring public. His book is not only the most philanthropic, but the cheapest ever published in America, namely, 50 cents single, and 30 by the hundred. It contains 392 large 12 mo. pages, fine paper, good type, handsomely bound, and illustrated with 16 engravings. The friends of humanity, their children, and their country, as also local and itinerant booksellers, are requested to call at John P. Burr's, No. 113 South Fifth street, and examine the book for themselves. In addition to the above unprecedented low price, poor book-venders shall receive a generous premium for distributing a large number. In order to demonstrate the modest and disinterested philanthropy of the above talented author, perhaps it will not be irrelevant to mention one out of hundreds of the recipients of his bounty, namely: An old friend with whom I have been acquainted since I was a young boy, called on me some days ago and informed me that the above gentleman sent him 400 of his good and cheap books, and that he had no means of selling them, and requested my assistance; he also informed me he has been in the habit of sending large sums of money for years, although he had never seen him, but merely heard that he was reduced in the world through the fraud of smiling villainy; he has sent him hundreds of dollars at a time for his own relief, and as his almoner

this office was so congenial to his sentiments, and agreeable to his taste, that he has reduced himself to pecuniary difficulties—his munificent benefactor's punctual monthly remittances to the contrary notwithstanding.

This circumstance induced him also to call on the venerable and celebrated author of the "Olive Branch, &c. &c." and to request his assistance in the sale of his books; he with his characteristic liberality forthwith wrote a letter to one of our popular and respectable booksellers. In order to show the spontaneous kindness of the patriot and philanthropist of Philadelphia, I will take the liberty to introduce a short extract from said letter to wit:—

"My Dear Sir,—The bearer has a number of copies of a very valuable book which he is very desirous to dispose of at a very low rate. You will do an act of very great kindness if you purchase some of his books. I shall regard the purchase as a favor.

Yours, respectfully,

M. CAREY."

He also generously purchased a number of copies for his own private distribution. To all the booksellers of the city of brotherly love, I would respectfully address individually, the language of the fountain of philanthropy viz.—"GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE." And to our journalists I would say, give this piece one insertion at least. Let no man be able with truth to say in the hearing of the despots and slaves of Europe, neither in the present or future generation, as follows, to wit:—all the booksellers and editors of Philadelphia were respectfully entreated to grant the above little, trifling, almost no favor, to an old white headed patriot who efficiently served his country in the time of her greatest need (which he can prove any moment.) O. S. M.

From the Herald of Freedom.

THE AFRICAN STRANGERS.

We are inclined to treat their case as an abolitionist, rather than as an inquirer into their liabilities under the rules and regulations of this slaveholding country, called laws. As an abolitionist we say, defying contradiction, that they ought not for a moment to be kept under duress. The whole procedure against them from king Sharka down through the dignitaries of Cuba to Andrew *Sharka* Judson is all of a piece. It is pro-slavery violence, all of it. This is what we take notice of. We shall not trouble ourselves or our readers to go through the legal authorities or arguments bearing on the case of these imprisoned men. If they would treat them as they do white men, we don't so much care as to the result.

Their lives are as important and no more so, than any other equal number of human beings, of the great multicolored and dispersed family. We look to see what hand slavery has in disposing of them, and to make what use we can of the whole occurrence against the infernal institution of slaveholding. And though we feel no small interest in the heroic Cingues, we don't claim that he have his life and his rights merely because he is a hero or a master spirit, but because he is a man. Had he been ever so cowardly, or ever so imbecile in mind or spirit, we should be equally strenuous, and more so, in his behalf, for it is the poor and feeble brethren of our race of whose rights we ought to be most tender. We are aware that a good deal of enthusiasm displayed by the pro-slavery press is based upon any thing rather than justice and a love of the right. It forgets Cingues' color, in admiration of his valor and his talent and personal prowess. But all this will evaporate by and by, when we call on it to carry out the feeling in behalf of three millions of Cingues' brethren and sisters, who are now weltering in the slough of slavery in this country. Why don't this sympathy rise for them? Who shall kindle at the wrongs of Cingues, and sneer at the infinitely greater sufferings of the plantation? If they hang Cingues, they won't defeat him of the chief object of his rising. He rose for liberty. He has got that, and if he dies, he dies a freeman. Liberty will be cheaply purchased by death. Death is infinitely lighter than slavery. He loses his country, his sweet home, his dear wife and children. His heart will be with them—

"There where his rude hut by the" *Niger* "lay,
There were his young barbarians, all at play,
And there their" *Afric* "mother,—He their sire
Butcher'd to make a" *Yankee* "holiday."

But they won't hang him. We are fearful they won't try him. The *sovereignty* of Cuba is making application to Van Buren to deliver up this stray property. See if he will incur the frown of the South, and hazard the bauble of the presidency by refusing. Try them and acquit them, and treat them as innocent men, or as MEN, the country won't dare do, unless in this moment of excitement and conquered for the hour by Cingues' William Tell prowess. How could we look the South in the face after it, as Abner said to Asahel, "How then shall I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?" What will become of the Union? The South would get together in the Rotunda at Charleston, and with flaming speeches from Calhoun and Preston, dissolve it into non-entity. They would stare at the

North so fiercely, that it would go into dough-faced hysterics. They won't dare acquit. And to condemn will be a delicate matter. Counsel are engaged who will be compelled by their oaths to unfold the whole law, and to show forth their right of acquittal by our own Venetian justice, and the full reasons of acquittal will be recorded, and the nation will read it, and the blood of the murdered Cingues will cry in ears that were deaf as the adder to the voice of Lovejoy's. They will hardly dare hang. Cuba will relieve the republic. She will ask her imperial sister for her slaves. She will get them. The brave Cingues crosses the gulf-stream once more, and should God not open to his mighty genius some second way to victory and liberty, or his unwary tyrants slacken his chain, so that he might bound indignantly over the vessel's side, and escape them in the depths of the ocean, they will revenge upon him the daring effrontery that raised hand against the divine prerogative of mastery. They won't attempt to get him to the plantation.—They have no fancy to undertake reducing him, breaking him, making his Hannibal form *handy* in the reptile harness. No overseer would covet the *munagement* of him. He would as soon harness the "Unicorn" to "harrow the vallies after" him. He would gladly swap Cingues for almost any pro-slavery editor in the New England states, and pay that boot which is due to the servility of spirit that would make a slave. No, they would save his more docile and submissive companions for the plantation, but they would make of the gallant hero a signal example of slaveholder's vengeance, which knows no bounds. Those laughing Afric girls would be reared to adorn, by and by, Don Jose Ruez's harem, that young *gentleman* who so interested the New London Editor, and the United States naval officer. He would undoubtedly require these republican sympathisers, should they hereafter visit his Cuba plantation, with all sorts of *hospitality*.

Acknowledgement of donations received for the National Reformer.

John Jay, N. Y.,	\$5 00
Mordecai Wolf,	5 00
Hester Moore,	5 00
Thos. Butler, on acct. of pledge,	5 00
James Bustill,	2 00
T. R. Worthington,	1 00
Elizabeth Chew,	1 00
Mathew Howland, N. Bedford, Mass.	25 00
	<hr/>
	\$24 00

PUBLIC MEETING.

At a large and respectable meeting of the people of color, convened in the First African Presbyterian Church, in Seventh street, on Monday evening, Sept. 23d—prayer having been offered—the Rev. Charles W. Gardiner was called to the chair; Thomas Butler and Lewis Mead were appointed Vice Presidents; and Robert B. Ayres and Benjamin Stanly, Secretaries.

The object of the meeting having been stated by the Chairman, on motion of Robert B. Ayres, a committee of three was appointed, consisting of Robert Purvis, George Miller, and Frederick A. Hinton, to draw up suitable resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting on the death of our much valued and lamented friend, Benjamin Lundy. The committee, after having retired a short time, reported the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, we have learned the painful intelligence of the death of that persevering, fast, and tried friend of the colored man, Benjamin Lundy: Therefore,

Resolved, That as recipients of benefits from his early, devoted, and uncompromising efforts in behalf of human rights,—as grateful admirers of all that is pure and spotless in Christian philanthropy,—as lovers of those heavenly principles which he so faithfully and fearlessly enunciated and defended,—we here record our testimonial in just tribute to his sainted memory.

Resolved, That so long as first and holy principles are treasured up in the hearts of men, and the virtuous teachings of one generation pass to another, just so long will a grateful posterity revere the sacrificial devotion to the genius of universal emancipation, of the blessed immortal to whom we have assembled to do homage.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to select some suitable person to deliver an eulogium upon the life and character of our deceased friend.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the daily papers of this city, and that the Secretaries be requested to transmit a copy of the same to the family of our benefactor.

On motion, it was unanimously resolved, that the above resolutions be adopted.

While the resolutions were pending, the meeting was addressed by Robert Purvis, James Cornish, J. C. White, and F. A. Hinton, who portrayed the character of our estimable friend in truly eloquent and spirit-stirring speeches.

On motion, a committee of three was appointed to select a suitable person to deliver the eulogium. The Rev. W. Douglass, Thomas Butler, and Robert Purvis, were appointed said committee.

On motion, James M. White, Robert B. Ayres, and Morris Brown, Jr., were appointed a committee to secure a suitable place for the delivery of the proposed eulogium.

A benediction was then pronounced, and the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT B. AYRES, } Secretaries.
BENJAMIN STANLY, }

TERMS OF PUBLICATION, &c. The size of the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal octavo, and published monthly, at \$1.00 a year, in advance—six copies for \$5.00.

All communications, &c., relating to the editorial department should be addressed, *post paid*, to ROBERT PURVIS, No. 11 Jefferson Row. Those that relate to subscriptions to this paper must be directed to JOHN P. BURR, 113 S. Fifth street.

Rev. JACOB RHODES has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the 'Reformer.'

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.
New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.
New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.
" Burlington—Robert Taylor.
Pennsylvania, West Chester—Abraham D. Shad.
" Columbia—Stephen Smith.
" Harrisburg—Junius C. Morell.
" Pittsburg—John Peck.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

'GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH.'—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 11.

PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER, 1839.

VOL. I.

PREJUDICE OF CASTE.

THIS foul "fiend" of the earth,—that dishonors the character of the most high God—corrupts the human mind,—eclipses the sanctity of religion with its impurity—blots out the spirit of humanity—darkens the moral vision—uproots republicanism, and annihilates the principles of justice, still continues to spread its detestible influence over our country. It is the "Guevo Upas" of the American soil. It dethrones the reasoning powers of every mind that inhales its poisonous breath. Its noxious exhalations have made the costly edifices erected for the worship of the true God, mere prison houses of complexional pride. It has made the philosophy of nature, the *creature of circumstance*, while the literature of the country is employed in the vain attempt to prove the natural superiority of one portion of mankind over another, as though the human family consisted of as many "distinct species" as the quadrupeds of the earth, or the "fowls of heaven."

When we take a general and impartial survey of public sentiment throughout our country, (considering the kind of education this generation has received) we are not astonished that our wiseacres have arrived at the conclusion that their revolutionary fathers were in error when they boldly declared that "all men were created equal," and that they are not bound to abide by that "rhetorical flourish" as a self-evident truth.

It is a truth not to be concealed, that three-fourths of the American people (both white and colored) *practically* believe in the natural inferiority of the colored man. It is this belief that makes the white man feel that he is a LORD, and the colored man that he is a SLAVE. Every man that denies the natural equality of man, is an enemy to the great fundamental principle on which our republic is based! Is it then to be wondered at, that every *free* breeze shakes the consolidated tyranny of this

republic to its centre! How is it possible that our country shall prosper, or our government avoid the fatalism that overthrew the ancient republics, unless the people come to the rescue, and rally on that heaven-born sentiment that first gave birth to our national existence! We are now as a nation almost on the verge of anarchy. Our former policy has been to obliterate the spirit of freedom and republicanism by legislation. All that is now *virtually* left of our boasted republic, exists in the unswerving fortitude of those that maintain the life-giving principle, that all men have an equal right (without distinction as to complexion) to enjoy equal rights and immunities under our republican form of government.

A large amount of the Christian sympathy that fires the hearts of philanthropists, and moves onward the 2000 organizations for the promotion of human freedom is based on the fact, that the colored people are deprived of these estimable privileges that are enjoyed by those that are distinguished by the term "white." And surely here is an array of deprivations sufficient to make the patriot mourn, and the Christian weep. But if these were the worst evils that the "prejudice of caste" had brought upon us, we should rejoice in the hope of a speedy triumph. Alas! alas! the worst part of the tale is not yet told. Prejudice has nearly dehumanized the colored man, by numbing his moral feelings, and spreading its bewitching net over his intellectual vision, until a large majority practically exhibit by their actions, that they are actual believers in the doctrine that asserts THEIR OWN INFERIORITY. This arises from their own ignorance of their high derivation, as moral, rational, and intelligent beings—and is a part of the education they have received from a corrupt public sentiment. But the *fact* itself may be proved in a thousand instances, all within the reach of every acute observer, a few of

which we shall here notice, viz.: Their great admiration of European features—white complexion—straight hair—small feet, &c. 2dly. Their great willingness to place reliance on the advice of the “whites,” and obey their mandates. 3dly. Their general desire to make their oppressors the model for good or evil, in fashion, dress, luxury, intemperance, &c., while they will freely reject the best plans of promoting their own happiness, if the proposition arises among themselves. 4thly. Their total want of confidence in themselves, to carry forward any moral undertaking; assigning as a reason, what can we “colored people do.” 5thly. Their extreme jealousy at each other’s advancement in scientific, mechanic, or mercantile pursuits, least those that possessed good fortune in life, should be admitted to higher stations in society than they. 6thly. Their very submissive attitude when addressing white people, all demonstrates that they regard them as superior beings, and this can never be done without the person so acting, *first degrades himself*. 7thly. It may be seen in their social intercourse with one another, that they are often apt to choose for their friends, those that approach nearest to the “flickering shade of white,” and the same rule is frequently pursued in courtships and marriages. 8thly. It is often observed with parents; who are too often to be found admiring and loving the one the most whose shade is the brightest. 9thly. It is exhibited very plainly, and indeed too fatally for their interest, that very often quarrels and bickerings arise, from this very spirit of jealousy. 10thly. From the very fact that there are so many that are ready to quarrel with those of an opposite complexion, for an offence that they would have probably been willing to have overlooked in another.

Time would fail us to enumerate the many actual proofs that the majority of the “colored people” regard themselves as an “inferior race” in the scale of creation. It is this moral stupor that degrades us. We want first to be emancipated from this evil that has already blighted our manhood, and *dethroned the dignity of our human nature*. This evil is so

deeply buried in the constitution of our natures from the effect of an unholy prejudice, that our anti-slavery societies cannot *penetrate it*. Legislation cannot *reach it*. It must be removed by the efforts of individual mind, by the regenerating power of moral and intellectual philosophy, and by the elementary principles of justice. There is no living being that feels himself *exalted* over his fellow man on account of his complexion, but must naturally regard his MAKER as *partial*, and there is none that feel their *inferiority*, but will despise HIM. So there is no man, truly capable of imbibing the free spirit, those self-evident truths that declare “all men are created equal,” until he has trodden under foot, every vestige of distinction that recognizes man’s natural superiority over man. And we can never truly triumph over the soul-destroying demon of prejudice, until we have disinherited from the inmost recesses of our minds, the last relics of this wicked custom; then, and not till then, will our minds be capable of soaring above the “devices” of our enemies into loftier regions, where we may contemplate the character of man in the sphere which God designed for the promotion of his glory and his own welfare.

HUMAN GOVERNMENTS.

An acute observer of the signs of the times, might almost arrive at the conclusion that the great question whether “human governments were a blessing or a curse, was actually before the people for adjudication. Politics has held such an ungovernable sway of the land for the last five or six years, that it seems to have well nigh absorbed the moral and intellectual faculties of the nation in its devouring element. Principles new and old are pushed forward on the stream of party influence, and are sacrificed at its shrine. Political action is now one of the standard bearers of anti-slavery societies. And even the “colored people,” the most of whom are disfranchised, have become active participants in these great movements. We hope now that the elections are generally over, the public mind will again become settled, and that the great questions of moral

duties will again receive their due attention. We are perfectly willing that every one shall use such weapons as they deem best to complete the final overthrow of slavery, whether the same be by religious, moral, or political influence; but we cannot see, why it is necessary for them to "fall out by the way." If slavery be the "creature of law," it is necessary that the law be abolished to insure its destruction. The moral influence of slavery is so debasing in its influence, that the seat of its disease can only be reached by the prosecution of high moral principles. It is quite common to hear men condemn the course of the government on this question, and they are equally severe in their condemnation of the course pursued by those that are termed "no government men" for abstaining from the polls. We have neither the ability or wish to grapple with this question. We maintain that the rights of conscience should be held sacred. Let every man inform himself "and so let him act."

The Christian maxim is, that we should feel for those in bonds "as bound with them." Therefore we cannot discover why the colored people have a right to complain of the course pursued by those that are conscientiously scrupulous about voting at the polls, since they by that act *identify* themselves more closely with their down trodden-brethren, by being disfranchised themselves.

NEW ENGLAND NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY.

We perceive by the "Non-Resistant," that the first annual meeting of this Society was held in Boston, in September last. There was a large number in attendance, and the resolutions that were brought before the meeting, embraced very important principles, and were ably discussed. This society is yet but in its infancy; it is of giant birth, its principles are pregnant with important results; let it not be despised. We venture to predict, that in ten years, it will have awakened the evangelical piety of our land, and that it is ultimately destined to remodel the civil and ecclesiastical codes throughout the entire globe.

DAVID RUGGLES AND THE NEW YORK VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

We have much regretted that the above parties have not been able to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment of their affairs without so much public recrimination. We perceive by the Emancipator that David has prepared a reply, in vindication of his conduct in this matter, but that he is too much reduced in circumstances to pay for its publication. Let his friends in New York see to this matter. Let not a faithful public servant, that has lost his eyesight in the cause of liberty, suffer a worse infliction by having his character assailed, because he is now too poor to defend it. If he were now in Queen Victoria's regions, many a redeemed fugitive would glory in the privilege of aiding him. If his friends in New York will not help him, he has friends in Pennsylvania that will. If he will send on his communication it shall be published in the National Reformer gratis.

ECCLESIASTICAL DESPOTISM.

We copy the following proceedings of the "General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church," together with the communication "An Episcopalian," from the Emancipator, the same having been originally published in the "Colored American." We observe in it a strong indication of the sign of the times, and of the onward march of anti-slavery principles. It would have been an act of *insanity* to have anticipated the "granting" of the prayer of the petitioner, (Mr. Crummell) by the LEARNED, GRAVE, AND PIOUS BISHOPS. The great sub-treasury vault, where slavery and prejudice have all their reinforcements, naval and military stores, deposited, is in the "*sanctum sanctorum*" of the church, and the Bishops, Clergy, and Laymen have the keys. It is not rational to suppose, that they would be so regardless of the great trust reposed in them, as to elevate one to an equal brotherhood with themselves, that was recognized by the same complexion of those they are engaged in "brutifying." The most ominous feature in the whole transaction, is that they gave no reasons for rejecting the

prayer of the petitioner. We had supposed that they might have been able to have called from the many able dissertations vindicating the divine nature of the "peculiar institution," and their own *sacred library*, to have furnished the world at least, with an apology for *their* injustice. What will professor Stuart, and his learned confederates think of this, when he finds that the learned Bishops have rejected his "exigesis" in behalf of "slavery and prejudice." We may fairly presume that the latter saw clearly, that the wild theories of the former were exploded by the power of anti-slavery logic, and anti-slavery philosophy; and were therefore, unwilling to risk their future fame, and mental energies, in a collision with a power that has ever proved invincible. If the question be asked, what have anti-slavery principles accomplished? Our answer is, that they have so intimidated the Bishops of the P. E. Church, that they are afraid to vindicate their own despotism. For the truth of this assertion, and to show that they regard the principles of human rights and natural equality, as one of the popular doctrines of the day, we will quote the last paragraph of a communication, over the signature of the Right Rev. Bishop, Benjamin T. Onderdonk, in the New York American, in reply to a second communication from "An Episcopalian" on the same subject. "Whatever counsel and admonition I may have given to Mr. McCrummell, regarding his future conduct in this matter, have resulted from the canonical connexion between him as a candidate for orders, and myself as his Diocesan, for which I am responsible only to the Church, and its Divine Head, and in the discharge of the duties and responsibilities of which I shall not be swayed by any appeals that may be made to popular feeling."

The communication of "An Episcopalian," deserves to be carefully read for its candor and Christian feeling. We rejoice that there are those that possess the Christian patience to thoroughly investigate such grave questions, in order that they may discover the motives that actuated those that have been guilty of committing such deeds of wickedness. For

our own part we have neither reason, nor patience to bestow on "dumb dogs that will not bark." Whatever charity we may have to spare, shall be used as a mantle for the ignorant. But such conduct from enlightened Bishops ought to be visited with the concentrated scorn, and contempt of the civilized world. We heartily rejoice that among the many defalcations that are daily recorded, that we are able to add one more to the number viz., that the great treasury of slaveholding literature has become so nearly exhausted, that the Bishops were unwilling to draw upon it.

From the New York American.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

One of the most unfavorable signs of the times, is the respect paid to established truths, independent of external things; the delusion in our day so general, that principles eternal and immutable, can be modified or destroyed by circumstances. Thus the maxim, "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*"—"let justice be done, though the heavens should fall," divine in its origin, universal in its application, and unchangeable in its truth, is discarded from the philosophy and the theology of the present age. Although formerly so popular was the belief in its righteousness, that even demagogues used it as a catch word for party, it is now so ridiculed and despised that even clerical bodies, with bishops at their head, seem to think it expedient either to utter it with their mouths, or exemplify it by their acts. As the doctrine of EXPEDIENCY, which tramples principle in the dust and exalts interest to the seat of duty, and prefers poor human reasoning to the commands of God—this doctrine is now deliberately acted upon in the Episcopal Church of the United States, and so completely has it governed its councils in a late instance as to lead them to an act injurious to a Christian brother, at enmity with the spirit of the church, and insulting to hundreds of their fellow churchmen; and then to induce them to disallow the protest of a Right Reverend Bishop, and then to cloak the whole proceedings with a veil of mystery.

The extracts we are about giving are from the printed Report of the proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, at their annual meeting in June 1889. This seminary has its location in N. Y. and is distinguished as the 'General

Seminary,' because it is under the superintendence of the whole church, the Board of Trustees being composed of the Bishops *ex-officio*, and upwards of a hundred clerical and lay gentlemen, representing the different states and territories of the Union, and the Trustees are required to make a report at every general convention, of their proceedings, and of the state of the Seminary.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES.

"Tuesday, June 25, 1839.

A communication from Mr. Crummel, asking admission to the Seminary as a student, was read, and on motion referred to a committee consisting of the following gentlemen appointed by the chair:—

Right Rev. Bishop Doane, Rev. Drs. Milnor, Taylor and Smith, Messrs. D. B. Ogden, Newton, and Johnson.

"June 26, 1839.

The Right Rev. Bishop Doane, chairman of the committee on the petition of Mr. Crummel, asked to be relieved from further service in that committee—which request was granted.

The Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, was on motion appointed chairman of the committee to fill the vacancy thus occasioned.

"June 27, 1839.

The committee on the petition of M. Crummel submitted the following:—

The committee to whom was referred the communication of Mr. Crummel, respectfully report that having deliberately considered the said petition, they are of the opinion that it ought not to be granted, and they accordingly recommend to the board of trustees the adoption of the following resolution.

Resolved, That the prayer of the petitioner be not granted.

(Signed.)

H. U. ONDERDONK,
JAMES MILNOR,
HUGH SMITH,
WM. JOHNSON,
DAVID B. OGDEN,
EDWARD A. NEWTON.

The Rev. Dr. Hawks moved that the resolution recommended in the report be adopted.

Mr. Huntington moved that the whole subject be re-committed, with instructions to the committee to report that the matters embraced in the petition of Mr. Crummel, are according to section I, of chapter vii. of the Statutes, referable to the faculty rather than this board—which motion was lost.

Whereupon the question upon accepting the report and adopting the resolution recommended was taken up and decided in the affirmative.

The Right Rev. Bishop Doane gave notice that he should on the morrow ask leave to present to the Board, and to enter upon the minutes a protest against this decision.

"Friday, June 28.

The Right Rev. Bishop Doane who had yesterday given notice of his intention to ask leave to enter a protest, &c. changed his intention as to the manner of presenting the subject, and asked leave to state to the Board his reasons with a view to the entry of the same upon the minutes for dissenting from the vote of the majority on the report of the committee to whom was referred the petition of Mr. Crummel—*Leave was not granted.*"

The first thing which strikes the reader as a singular circumstance, is the application of an individual for admission, being made to the Board of Trustees, gathered from all parts of the country. The admission of students would seem to belong to the faculty, and the pamphlet before us contains their report to the trustees on the state of the institution, the whole of which is taken up with statements of the students who had been admitted, or dismissed, or allowed leave of absence, or are at present connected with the Seminary: and that the question of admission is referable to the faculty rather than the Board would appear from Mr. Huntington's resolution in which he cites Sec. 1. of chapter vii, of the Statutes as authority.

The first part of the section cited reads thus:

"Every person producing to the faculty satisfactory evidence of his *having been admitted* a candidate for holy orders with full qualifications according to the customs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, shall be received as a student of the Seminary"—[Constitution, &c., of the Gen. Theological Seminary, p. 14, 1822.

Another extract from the minutes relating to the same section of the same chapter of the Statute may throw some light upon the matter.

June 26, 1839.

"The Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk of New York, gave notice of a proposed amendment in the 1st section of chapter vii. of the Statutes, substituting in the first sentence of the section the word 'being' for the words 'having been admitted,' and changing the phrase 'shall be received,' for the phrase 'may be received.'"

Perhaps the application had at first been made to the Faculty, and no constitutional ground existed for denying it. The qualifications of the individual may have been perfect, yet they may have thought it *inexpedient* to admit him; and as the troublesome phrase

"shall be received," was still unrescinded, they may themselves have advised Mr. Crummel to this course; preferring that the Board in its corporate capacity, should trample upon an express provision of the Statutes, rather than the disgrace of such a procedure should rest upon their own heads. Or the application may have been made to the faculty and by them refused, and the petition to the board of trustees have been in the nature of an appeal, and its being referred to a committee of Doctors of Divinity, and Counsellors at law, with a bishop at their head, seems to countenance this supposition, although the absence of any explanation whatever in the report necessarily leaves the matter in doubt.

The next thing which attracts the attention of the reader, especially if he be a churchman, is the resignation of Bishop Doane as chairman of this committee.

Is this Right Rev. Father accustomed thus to avoid the performance of duty? Was the point in dispute one he felt himself incapable of solving, or displeased with the principles of his colleagues, did conscientious motives lead him to vacate the office which the Bishop of Pennsylvania so harmoniously filled?

If the preliminary steps seem to the reader singular, the report is not calculated to lessen his wonder. After deliberately considering the petition, the committee are of opinion that it ought not to be granted. Doubtless the decision was a righteous one; how should it be otherwise? Selected for the performance of this duty from a large body of intelligent and professedly pious men, bringing to the examination the question, whatever it might be, a thorough acquaintance of the history of the church from the Apostles and Fathers to the present day, professing a strong attachment to the principles of our Catholic church and a familiarity with its disciplines; firm believers in the necessity of Episcopal ordination, and the invalidity of all others, and moreover warm declaimers in favor of the importance of an educated ministry—they surely brought to the task of examining the qualifications of a young man desirous of spreading abroad the light of our glorious gospel, "according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of our holy church," all that the applicant could desire.

As if to secure perfect impartiality in deciding the claim of Mr. Crummel—not now to be ordained a minister of the church, but only to be admitted as a student of the Seminary, that he might be ordained hereafter if found worthy—a Right Rev. Father in God was placed at the head of the committee, and how-

ever inclined any of his colleagues might have been to consult their prejudices, or feelings, or pecuniary interests, he must have known and felt that prejudices and interests were foreign to the matter, remembering the solemn words of St. Paul—"I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, WITHOUT PREFERRING ONE BEFORE ANOTHER; DOING NOTHING BY PARTIALITY." 1. Tim. v. 21.

The report was accepted, and the historian of the church moved the resolution excluding Mr. Crummel, which was adopted.

Not a syllable appears in the report, or in the resolution, or in the minutes, respecting the reasons for his exclusion; and Mr. Crummel stands before the world in the humiliating light of a man publicly refused admission by the Board of Trustees, into a Theological Seminary, where the terms of admission are simple and within the reach of all, including no condition as to birth, or station, or wealth, and where the phrase in the statutes that those qualified "SHALL be received," of itself casts a stigma upon the character of any individual who is rejected, and whereas in this case the mortifying fact appears on the minutes of the board as the result of careful "deliberation" of such a committee, and no cause for it is assigned, it is reasonable to suppose that the grounds of this rejection have been withheld from compassion to the individual, because their publication would have sunk him still lower in the estimation of his friends, than the mere fact of his rejection; for were it otherwise—were he refused on any account for which he was not directly responsible, it would be an act of the grossest, the most palpable injustice to withhold it.

The vote it seems was not unanimous. Some few were not satisfied with the report of the committee; for all that appears upon the minutes, they may have been as ignorant as the reader, of the incapacity of Mr. Crummel, for the report intimates it not. Bishop Doane, however, gives notice that he will tomorrow ask leave to enter his protest against the decision, and accordingly the next day he did ask leave to enter his protest, and at the same time to state his reason to the board; but says the minutes, "leave was not granted."

A singular circumstance truly in an assemblage of churchmen!—refuse to allow a Rt. Rev. Father in God to give his reasons for differing with them in opinion! Could it have been owing to a consciousness of error? a small voice whispering within? But surely they knew that the decision had been made in the words of St. Paul, "before God, and the

Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels," and when they refused to let a bishop protest against it here, they could not forbid the recording angel from writing it against their names on high.

If any just cause existed why Mr. Crummel should be excluded from the Seminary, it is a blessing to the church that he was excluded, and we should be thankful that the Institution is under the charge of men so attached to its principles, so firm in adherence to Christian justice, as to deny a request of this nature, painful as the task might be. But the disqualification should be clearly marked; and any disqualification which would unfit an applicant for a participation in the advantages of the Seminary, we may suppose ought also to exclude him from Deacon's orders.

Against the admission of unworthy persons into this order, the church herself has made careful provision. "Brethren," says the bishop, when the candidate is present to him for ordination before the whole congregation, "if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment or notable crime in this person, for the which he ought not to be admitted to this office, let him stand forth in the name of God, and shew what the crime or impediment is."

Without assigning the shadow of an excuse, have this Committee excluded Mr. CRUMMEL from the Seminary, and now in behalf of the friends of this individual, in behalf of the Church of England of which we are a branch, in behalf of the churchmen of America, in behalf of Christian people everywhere, to his accusers, with the Bishop of Pennsylvania at their head, do we put the question, "*Let them stand forth in the name of God, and shew what the crime or impediment is.*"

It was a notable crime, which he could not help—a crime of which Cyprian, and Tertullian, and Augustine may have been guilty; a crime with which those who rejected him, have charged his Maker.

We speak what is logical and reasonable, when we say that the person who on account of his color, refused to admit to the Seminary a Christian brother, led by the Holy Spirit to desire to labor in the Lord's vineyard, where the harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few, not only assumed an awful responsibility, the dread weight of which never can be known until the Judgment Day; but they have also, deliberately, however involuntarily, offered an insult to their God. Whose fault was it that he was colored? Had he colored himself, or was it done by the hand of Him, who sitteth above the heavens? If, as

we are assured by the wise man, "he that oppresseth the poor, *reproacheth his Maker*," (Prov.) how much more he that treats with contumely his fellow man, not for a misfortune, which like poverty, might be the result of his own viciousness, but for a peculiarity of person given him by his Maker, ere his entrance into this world of sorrow—a peculiarity which it was ordained in heaven he should wear, before the sun and the moon was made. 'Be ye sure,' saith our anthem, 'that the Lord he is God; it is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves.' White and colored, rich and poor, the oppressor and the oppressed, dignitaries in the Church, and involuntary outcasts from its portals, we are alike the sheep of his pasture and the work of his hand.

It may be true that some of the professors of the Seminary agreed to give Mr. Crummel "private instruction," provided he were excluded from the Institution—his name unrecorded on its books—himself unknown as a student; and as his rejection by the Board would be published far and wide, and his name coupled with disgrace wherever the report was read, from obvious reasons already stated; and as few would suppose the Reverend faculty of the Seminary capable of doing that in secret which they were ashamed to do openly, or willing to foster in private one declared unworthy of being received publicly, this arrangement might be carried into effect, without exposing the Church or themselves to the imputation of entertaining a single feeling of sympathy for the colored race—while at the same time the offer, whether accepted or not, probably acted as a salvo to the consciences of these high-minded Christian men.

But even if such an offer could, by any rule of Christianity, palliate their conduct in one light, it greatly aggravates it in another. It convicts them of openly insulting a man whom they acknowledge worthy of being called to be an ambassador of the Lord;—he who in baptism was "received into the congregation of Christ's flock," and in the holy communion became "a very member incorporate in the mystical body of his blessed Son;" he who has acquired a heritage in the skies, is deemed by these Churchmen (!) unworthy to sit and learn with his fellow sinners upon earth, the doctrines of that God "who hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," (Acts, xvii: 26,) and who has said, "if ye have respect to persons ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors."—(St. James ii. 9.)

And what was the plea with these guardians of the church, for the violation of her principles? Perhaps that they were trustees of the Institution, and were bound to fulfil the intention of its founders:—not that the intention to do any such great wickedness had ever been expressed in word or deed by those founders, for were they not obliged to trample upon an express statute to exclude this person? but they must religiously fulfil—thus they may have argued—what they had reason to believe, would have been their wishes in such a case. But if this intention had been clearly expressed in the constitution, instead of being contradicted as it is by a positive provision, were they only the trustees of a human Institution? were they not also the stewards of God? Did they not act, knowing that they had “a master in heaven, neither is there any respect of persons with Him.” (Eph. vi. 9.) Or perhaps they urged in their defence the temporal interests of the church, the odium that would be excited, and the cry of fanaticism that might be raised. Did they forget all but the present? Did they fear the withdrawal of the pecuniary favor of their fellow worms who breathe the air of slavery, and eat the bread of oppression, and not the withdrawal of His countenance, whose favor is life, and whose frown is death? And this victim of prejudice, upon whose sorrows they coldly looked, and whom they rejected from the school of the church, where he would fain have been taken in, did they forget that this man was not only the inheritor of contempt here, but the heir of immortality hereafter—not merely the butt of the heartless, and the mock of the scorner, but the created child of the sovereign of the universe, the adopted brother of the Savior of the world. Of that Savior, who, when he shall come in his majesty to require an account of the things done in the body, may say to many who have turned a deaf ear to the petition of the colored man, “Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it unto me.”

Who will deny that these gentlemen have forfeited very much of their claim to the confidence of conscientious churchmen? The positive command to “do nothing by partiality, or with respect of persons,” they have set at nought; the interest they profess to feel in the welfare of their oppressed colored brethren, we here see is not an abiding feeling; but one which vanishes like smoke at the mere shadow of opposition. The honor of the CHURCH, its catholic principles, its ancient practice, they have trodden in the dust; wish-

ing all men to reverence themselves with a great reverence, as ministers of the gospel, they trample on the rights and insult the feelings of one whom they expect to recognise as a deacon in the church, an ambassador of the Lord. They would recommend christianity as worthy of adoption, extol the power of religion, the strength of principle, the brotherly love, the adherence to truth, the purity of motive and of action, which distinguish the christian from all others; and now by a single act, where the path of duty was as clear as the sun in the heavens, they contradict all their professions, and show to the world that the favor of man is the strongest principle that rules within them. Happy will it be for these Christian ministers if the consequences of this act go no further, if as far as their example extends they incur not the guilt of Jereboam, “who taught Israel to sin.”

In the mighty effort now making to free our country from the chains of slavery at the South, and the trammels of prejudice at the North, the dignitaries of the church have very generally taken part with the oppressor. Two of our southern Bishops have found it expedient to recommend themselves to the people of their dioceses, *who buy and sell their fellow men*, the one by a public approval of the system; the other by stigmatizing as *fanatics*, his fellow Christians of the North, who, true to their religion and their church, condemn slavery as sinful. While here a body of men representing the whole church have sanctified to the utmost extent the wicked prejudice against color, a prejudice always mean and dishonorable, but thoroughly contemptible in republicans, and infinitely sinful in Christians. It remains to be seen whether at the next general convention when the report of the Trustees of the Seminary shall be presented, this deed shall receive the sanction of that reverend assembly. Whether no voice will there be raised in behalf of the claims of humanity, the honor of the church, the purity of religion; for if it is passed by unnoticed, if it receive either the express or the silent approval of that convocation among all the narrow minded parties who are endeavoring to thwart every effort for alleviating the sorrows of the negro race, *the Episcopal church of the United States* favoring the slavery of the whip at the South, and the slavery of prejudice at the North, will hold the high pre-eminence of being in this enlightened age of bibles and of missions, the heaviest oppressor of the Colored American.

The last thing we will notice in our exami-

nation of this matter, is the evident consciousness of sin and shame on the part of the trustees, displayed in this careful concealment of the reason of Mr. CRUMMEL's rejection, and their refusal to allow Bishop Doane to enter his protest on the minutes. Alas! for the worldly wisdom of the self-appointed judges of the workmanship of God. The deed done in darkness is already brought to light. They smothered the protest of a bishop, but can they smother the protest of a christian world? Can they gag the mouths or fetter the press which proclaim a righteous indignation, or can they blot from the pages of scripture their own condemnation, written by the finger of the Most High?

The Seminary of our church in which Episcopalians took so lively an interest, which was fondly regarded by them, as a noble institution that would give light to them that sit in darkness,—where the gospel would be taught not in a narrow abridgement, but in the grandeur of its extent, and the purity of its noble principles, which may never bend to passion, nor be sacrificed to expediency; this Seminary, where it was believed the youthful followers of the Redeemer, under the charge of holy men, would learn to love the doctrine of the Saviour, and be taught like him to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken hearted and set at liberty them that are bruised, is now revealed to the world by its own act, as the strong hold of prejudice, and the school of oppression. The fame of it shall go abroad into the earth, and from England and the isles of the sea, shall there come back a cry of indignation against the oppressors, and of sympathy for the oppressed.—Wherever it is told, christians will mourn, and scoffers will rejoice, and all true hearted churchmen will be disposed fervently to pray in behalf of the Bishops and Clergy of America in the expressive language of the prayer book, that henceforth “they may be to the flock, of Christ, shepherds and not wolves, that they may feed them and devour them not.”

AN EPISCOPALIAN.

New York, Aug. 26, 1839.

TRINIDAD EMIGRATION *versus* COLONIZATION.

We have viewed the progress of this new enterprise with watchful eyes, and contemplated its present magnitude and probable results on the present and future destiny of those whose interests it is designed to advance.

We have surveyed the position it occupies in the great question of liberty, in our own country, and its *invasion* of the *expressed* principles of our colored countrymen.

In short, we have marked its onward course with the most anxious solicitude for our future welfare, and with an eye single to the cause of the suffering slave, and the speedy and ultimate triumph of the principles of universal liberty, in this “our own, our native land.” We do therefore assert it as our *firm belief*, (that if the enterprise of Trinidad emigration is prosecuted in its present seductive course,) that it is pregnant with evil forebodings to the anti-slavery cause, and ought to be denounced equally with its twin sister the American Colonization Society. We do *now* enter our *protest* against it, either as a *means* or as a *measure*, through which the enslaved or the nominally free are to become emancipated and enfranchised.

With the free spirit of emigration we are not contending. It is not a question (the right of which is) to be settled by man. The attempt to do so would prove as idle, and futile as an effort to chain moonlight. It was an ordination of Providence, from the beginning of time that man should go abroad and till the earth. Our Saviour commanded his apostles to go and preach his gospel in the uttermost parts of the earth. We would delight to know that his earthly messengers had carried this divine light into all the benighted regions of the globe. The spirit of emigration has already peopled the earth, and carried the arts and sciences into its several grand divisions, and it is ultimately designed to make civilization their companions.

Were our means adequate to our desires of propagating light and knowledge into all the dark caverns of the Pagan world, we should not wait for the slow process of steam—we would freight a refulgent sunbeam with the precious blessing. It is this spirit that must carry the principles of universal liberty throughout every land, from pole to pole, and imprint its power on every mind. We trust this spirit will yet overthrow the power of

metanism in Asia, and Africa, and uproot the Pagan idols, in the other half civilized regions. But let us not expect that the spirit of emigration will accomplish every good thing. The fate of physical conflicts often depends on the power of the armor. The want of *ammunition* has been followed by defeat. "The foolish virgins took no oil in their lamps." Physical emigration may go onward, and men may arrive at their destined situation, and not bring with them the means necessary to extend civilization. From small fountains often large rivers flow. Slavery has so parched the American soil, that the springs of liberty are nearly dried up; and we do not believe that Americans are prepared to emigrate, and carry with them to other countries the pure streams of liberty to wash "emancipated soils," without doing injustice to their own. The act would be suicidal to the cause of the slave.

We protest against it more particularly because it is dyed with "colorphobia." Its chief design being to carry off free colored persons, it answers the object of "pro-slavery hate," by sending them to "Africa or elsewhere." Were it not for this marked distinction in the *complexion*, and *condition* of the emigrants, we should have remained silent.

If the good people of Trinidad want American laborers, let them ask for them in the spirit and language of the British law, that knows no complexion, and they will doubtless be able to obtain a sufficient number to change their uncultivated forests into fruitful gardens.

This subject has many advocates on the ground of policy and expediency; among the many arguments used is the following, that the great West India experiment is now going on, which will settle the disputed question whether free or slave labor is the most profitable, and that it is necessary that efforts be made to send colored men of good character and industry there to aid in its consummation." We answer, suppose the great experiment fails, what then? Do you for a moment suppose that the great question, whether slavery will

continue to exist here for ever, hangs on such a tender thread? No, no; blot out, if you please, from the map of *mind* and *matter*, every trace of the West Indies, and slavery will be destroyed without it.

Is it possible, that we must wait to see how much sugar, coffee, cotton, and rice, can be raised in the West Indies, before we are prepared to assert that slavery must fall by *moral power*? Let us cease making problems of straw to solve the truths of "holy writ." Man will be free independent of all the "problems and experiments" of doubting sophists. Holy writ declares it. The elements of moral science proclaims it. The free spirit of the age reverberates it, and the present solicitude of the slave for his OWN REDEMPTION, will, if all the persuasive eloquence of philanthropists cease, continue to freight his soul with indignation, until he swells beyond the measure of his chains, which will burst asunder, should the catastrophe make earth and heaven "weep."

We do not dispute the *right* of any person to accept the invitation of the Trinidad agent. We recognise the rights of man in its broadest terms—"our country is the world"—but we do solemnly *protest* against the use of those *seductive* arguments that leave the fatal impression on the public mind, that it is a measure that is intended to benefit the condition of the colored population generally. It has the effect of unsettling their minds, and lessening their confidence in the successful means that are already in progress for their future improvement.

We protest against every public meeting, and the appointment of committees to forward the object. Let the emigration stand alone, on its own merits, and prosecute its operations through the instrumentality of its own agents. Then individual interest may be promoted without injury to the public welfare.

Were we at this moment on board a vessel with emigrants bound for Trinidad, we should hurl back our *protest* on the bosom of the waters against every public effort to produce a general emigration of the free colored people.

For the Reformer.

SPEECH of Brother DANIEL A. PAYNE, delivered at the last session of the Franckean Synod, June, 1839, in favor of the adoption of the Report on Slavery. Written out by himself.

Mr. President,—I move the adoption of the Report, because it is based upon the following propositions:

American Slavery brutalizes man—destroys his moral agency, and subverts the moral government of God.

SIR,—I am opposed to slavery, not because it enslaves the black man, but because it enslaves *man*. And were all the slaveholders in this land men of color, and the slaves white men, I would be as thorough and uncompromising an abolitionist as I now am; for where ever and whenever I may see a being in the form of a man, enslaved by his fellow man, without respect to his complexion, I shall lift up my voice to plead his cause against all the claims of his proud oppressor; and I shall do it not merely from the sympathy which man feels towards suffering man, but because *God, the living God*, whom I dare not disobey, has commanded me to open my mouth for the dumb, and to plead the cause of the oppressed.

Slavery brutalizes Man.—We know that the word man, in its primitive sense, signifies **RED**. But the intellectual and moral structure of man, and the august relations which he sustains to the Deity, have thrown around the name, and the being designated by it, a halo of glory, brightened by all the ideas that are ennobling on earth, and blessed in eternity. This being God created but a little lower than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honor; but slavery hurls him down from his elevated position to the level of brutes! strikes this crown of glory from his head, and fastens upon his neck the galling yoke! and compels him to labor like an ox, through summer's sun and winter's snow, without remuneration. Does a man take the calf from the cow and sell it to the butcher? So slavery tears the child from the arms of the reluctant mother, and barter it to the soul-trader for a young colt, or some other commodity! Does the bird-catcher tear away the dove from his mate? So slavery separates the groaning husband from the embraces of his distracted and weeping wife? And are the beasts of the forests hunted, tortured and slain at the pleasure of the cruel hunter? So are the slaves hunted, tortured and slain by the cruel mon-

ster slavery! To treat a man like a brute is to brutalize him. We have seen that slavery treats man like a brute, therefore slavery brutalizes man! But does slavery stop here? Is it content with merely treating the external man like a brute? No, sir, it goes further, and with a heart as brazen as that of Belshazzar, and hands still more sacrilegious, it lays hold of the *immortal mind*, seizes the will, and binds that which *Jehovah* did not bind—fettters that which the *Eternal* made as free to move and act as the breath of Heaven! It destroys moral agency! To destroy moral agency is to fetter or obstruct the will of man. Now let us see if slavery is innocent of this. The very moment that a man conceives the diabolic design of enslaving his brother's body, that very moment does he also conceive the still more heinous design of fettering his will, for well does he know that in order to make his dominion supreme over the body, he must fetter the living spring of all its motions. Hence the first lesson the slave is taught is to yield his will unreservedly and exclusively to the dictates of his master. And if a slave desire to educate himself or his children, in obedience to the dictates of reason, or the laws of God, he does not, he cannot do it without the consent of his master. Does reason, and circumstances, and the Bible command a slave to preach the gospel to his brethren? Slavery arises, and with a frown, an oath, and a whip, fetters or obstructs the holy volition of his soul! I knew a pious slave in Charleston, who was a licensed exhorter in the M. E. C.; this good man was in the habit of spending his Saturday nights on the surrounding plantations, preaching to the slaves. One night, as usual, he got into a canoe, sailed across the river, and began to preach to the slaves on a certain plantation upon James' Island. While in the very act of preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ to dying men, the patrols seized him and whipped him in the most cruel manner, and compelled him to promise that he would never return to preach again to those slaves. In the year in 1834, several colored brethren, who were also exhorters in the M. E. C., commenced preaching to several *destitute white families*, who gained a subsistence by cultivating some poor lands about three or four miles from Charleston. The first Sunday I was present; the house was nearly filled with these poor white farmers. The master of the house was awakened to a sense of his lost condition. During the following week he was converted. On the third Sunday from the day he was convinced of sin he died in

the triumphs of faith, and went to Heaven. On the fourth Sunday from the time the dear brethren began to preach, the patrols scented their track, and put them on the chase. Thus an end was put to their labors. Their willing souls were fettered, and the poor whites constrained to go without the preaching of the gospel. In a word, it is in view of man's moral agency that God commands him to shun vice and practice virtue. But what female slave can do this? I lived 24 years in the midst of slavery, and never knew but six female slaves who were reputedly virtuous! What profit is it to the female slave that she is disposed to be virtuous? Her will, like her body, is not her own; they are both at the pleasure of her master; and he binds them at his will. *As it destroys moral agency, so it subverts the moral government of God.*

In view of the moral agency of man, God has most wisely and graciously given him a code of laws, and certain positive precepts, to control and regulate moral actions. This code of laws, and these positive precepts, with the divine influence which they are naturally calculated to exert on the mind of man, constitutes his moral government.

Now, to nullify these laws—to weaken or destroy their legitimate influence on the human mind, or to hinder man from yielding universal and entire obedience to them, is to subvert the moral government of God.

Now, slavery nullifies these laws and precepts—weaken and destroys their influence over the human mind, and hinders men from yielding universal and entire obedience to them; therefore, slavery subverts the moral government of God. This is the climax of the sin of slavery! This is the blackest, foulest, and the most horrid feature of the heaven-daring monster! He stretcheth out his hand against God, and strengtheneth himself against the Almighty—he runneth on him, even on his neck, upon the thick bosses of his buckler. Thus saith the Lord, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." But does the man who owns a hundred females obey the law? Does he not nullify it, and compel the helpless woman to disobey God? Concerning the religious instruction of children, thus saith the Lord, "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." But what saith slavery? "They are my property, and shall be brought up to serve me." They shall not even learn to read his word, in order that they may be brought up in his nurture and admonition. If any man doubts this, let him read the slave code of Louisiana, and see if it is not death to teach slaves. Thus saith

the Lord, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." Does not slavery nullify this law, and compel the slave to work on the Sabbath? Thus saith the Lord, "Obey thy father and thy mother." Can the slave children obey this command of God? Does not slavery command the children to obey the master, and him alone? Thus saith the Son of God, "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Does not slavery nullify this law, by breaking the sacred bands of wedlock, and separating the husband and the wife for ever? Thus saith the Son of God, "Search the Scriptures." Does not slavery seal up the word of God, and make it criminal for the slave to read it? In 1834, the legislature of South Carolina enacted a law prohibiting the instruction of any slave; and Mr. Lawrence, in a pamphlet which he published in 1835, to defend this law, declared, that if the slaves were permitted to read the Bible, ninety of them would become infidels, like Voltaire, where ten would become Christians. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature," saith the Son of God. Does slavery permit it? In 1835, a minister of the Episcopal Church, in the city of Charleston, appealed to the civil authority for permission to preach to the free population of an evening, but they would not permit him. The objector may reply, that at the present moment there are four Methodist missionaries, and one Lutheran, laboring among the slave population of South Carolina. We answer, that this is true, and we are glad of it; but this fact does not overthrow our proposition, nor falsify what we have stated; for, although a few planters have permitted the gospel to be preached to their slaves, the majority of them prohibit it, and this permission is extraneous to slavery, and is no part of its creed or code. Slavery never legislates for the religious instruction of slaves, but, on the contrary, legislates to perpetuate their ignorance; and there are laws this very moment in the statute books of South Carolina and other states, prohibiting the religious instruction of slaves. But it is not all that slavery does to subvert the moral government of God. The slaves are sensible of the oppression exercised by their masters; and they see these masters on the Lord's day worshipping in his holy sanctuary. They hear their masters professing Christianity; they see these masters preaching the gospel; they hear these masters praying in their families, and they know that oppression and slavery are inconsistent with the Christian religion; therefore they scoff at religion itself—mock their masters,

and distrust both the goodness and justice of God. Yes, I have even known them to question his existence. I speak not of what others have told me, but of what *I have both seen and heard from the slaves themselves*. I have heard the mistress ring the bell for family prayer, and I have seen the servants immediately begin to sneer and laugh; and have heard them declare they would not go in to prayers; adding, if I go in she will only just read, "Servants obey your masters;" but she will not "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." I have seen colored men at the church door, *scoffing at the ministers*, while they were preaching, and saying, you had better go home and set your slaves free. A few nights ago, between 10 and 11 o'clock, a runaway slave came to the house where I live, for safety and succor. I asked him if he was a Christian; "no sir," said he "white men treat us so bad in Mississippi that we can't be Christians."

Sir, I taught school in Charleston five years. In 1834 the legislature of our state enacted a law to prohibit colored teachers. My school was filled with children and youth of the most promising talents; and when I looked upon them, and remembered that in a few more weeks this school shall be closed, and I be permitted no more to teach them, notwithstanding I had been a professor seven years, I began to question the existence of the Almighty, and to say, if indeed there is a God, does he deal justly? Is he a just God? Is he a holy Being? If so, why does he permit a handful of dying men thus to oppress us? Why does he permit them to hinder me from teaching these children, when nature, reason, and Revelation command me to teach them? Thus I began to question the divine government, and to murmur at the administration of His providence. And could I do otherwise, while slavery's cruelties were pressing and grinding my soul in the dust, and robbing me and my people of those privileges which it was hugging to its breast, and giving thousands to perpetuate the blessing which it was tearing away from us? Sir, the very man who made the law alluded to, did that very year, and at that very session of the legislature, give 20,000 dollars to increase the property of South Carolina College.

In a word, slavery tramples the laws of the living God under its unhallowed feet—weakens and destroys the influence which those laws are calculated to exert over the mind of man; and constrains the oppressed to blaspheme the name of the Almighty. For I have often heard them sneeringly say, that "*The*

Almighty made Charleston on a Saturday night, when he was weary, and in a great hurry." O, Brethren of the *Franekean Synod!* *AWAKE!* to the battle, and hurl the hottest thunders of divine truth at the head of this cruel monster, until he shall fall to rise no more; and the groans of the enslaved are converted into the songs of the free!

IMPORTANT MEETING.

We publish below the report of a Committee which was unanimously adopted at a large public meeting of the "Colored People," on the 16th of the present month (December.) We have no room even for an outline of the many eloquent and *patriotic* speeches that were delivered upon the occasion; suffice it to say, they were in perfect keeping, with the spirit of the age in which we live.

For the National Reformer.

REPORT.

The committee appointed at a public meeting on the 9th December, 1839, to take such notice of a letter (received by the Rev. Andrew Harris, from the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, on the subject of Colonization, and favorable thereto,) as may be consistent with the views, feelings, and interests of those upon whom the *benevolent (!)* eye of colonization rests—respectfully and in conformity with their instructions, Report,

That, they have critically read the letter referred to, and finding therein contained nothing but the same stereotyped and wicked falsities; nothing but the same glaring inconsistencies and fraudulent pretensions; nothing but what is hateful in motive, diabolical in principle, and murderous in design; in fine, nothing different from the odious and peculiar man-hating, humanity-despising, God-defying features, which, from its origin to the present time, have stood out in marked and distinctive character; disgusting and abhorrent to the unawed, and *unbought* of our people, as well as to all others, pledged to the right for God and liberty;

Therefore, your committee, in view of the shameless effrontery, and disgraceful monstrosities of said letter, submit for your adoption the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we view with unmixed indignation, this last bribery attempt of Colonizationists to pervert the judgment, and compromise the honor, feelings, and integrity of our people.

Resolved, That all projects which contemplate our removal from the land of our birth and affections, will be looked upon as SPECULATIVE, DETESTABLE, and TRAITOROUS.

Resolved, That all who adopt, defend, and advocate the principles of the *American Colonization Society*, understandingly, ought to be ranked with the enemies of *justice, humanity, and Almighty God*.

Resolved, That while we fully adopt the enlarged motto of benevolence, that "Our Country is the World, our countrymen are all mankind," and would not present any obstacles for individual enterprise, and locomotion; we solemnly aver, and believe that the home where the *oppressed American* is to stand up in the full stature of a man—"redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled," is in these United States of North America.

Resolved, That not in vain-glorying and boasting, but in soberness and in truth, and in firm and devoted reliance upon those Heavenly principles, (mighty through God, to the pulling down the strong holds of sin,) as set forth by the American Anti-Slavery Society—we will live, and die in the country of our birth, whose liberty was won, in part, by the blood and treasure of our ancestors.

In behalf of the committee,

J. J. G. BIAS, Chairman.

From the Charter Oak.

PETITIONS! PETITIONS! PETITIONS!

Free women of Connecticut, (for I speak not now to slaves, to the servile minions of pride, selfishness and prejudice,) have you this fall signed the petitions in behalf of the dumb, and entreated *all* the women in your town to do the same? If you have not, I implore you to drop the work you have in your hand, or this paper, as soon as you shall have finished this article, and go to the work *now*, nor leave it till not one woman in your town shall have for excuse in the day of accounts, that she has not been asked to pray for the perishing.

Do you say you have so many family cares you cannot go? Thousands of your sisters may never hear the word *family* but to mock their desolation. But you must provide your beloved children's warm, winter clothing.—Look yonder. Do you not see that mother toiling with her *almost, or quite naked children, shivering in the keen blast*?—Yet you cannot go, you must prepare the table for your family. The slave spends but little time in dressing her "*peck of corn per week*."—Does your house need putting in order? Had you a house but "*fifteen feet by ten*," furnished

with a rough bench, a stool and a bunk, with a little straw and a blanket, and then, for cooking and table apparatus, a kettle, a spoon and a knife, it might not take you so long to set them in order.—Why do you delay, and take up a book to read? Is it in derision of blighted intellect? Ah! throw it down in remembrance of the millions in whose bodies immortality has well nigh found a sepulchre.—Do your precious babes demand your tender watchings, so that you cannot leave them?—Hark! that shriek!! It proclaims the bursting of a heart, as the babe is torn from the frantic mother, and sold for "*five dollars the pound*."—Still do you say "I have not time?" O! I pity you. You are yourself almost qualified to be a slave. Ay, *you are a slave*—a slave to hardness of heart. You have got a stone in your bosom; there is no flesh there, you are consumed by selfishness. Is this hard talk? How would *you* talk of *me*, were you allowed to speak, if I should wrap myself up in "*my own concerns*" and see your relatives and friends sold under the hammer, your clothing stripped from you, except perhaps, a mere rag, your mind smothered to almost utter extinction, and then the defaced remnant of your former self driven before the gory lash, till, exhausted, you cannot finish your task, and are bound down, shamelessly exposed, and a cat hawled up and down your back to gratify the revenge of some lustful brute of an overseer.

I see all this, and know that our GREAT and WISE men (?) in the nation's BLACK LAW FACTORY have decided that *you have no right to ask for mercy* in their behalf. You know all this, and cry out, "O how I pity the poor creature. I can't bear to hear of such treatment. My feelings are so acute I cannot read such horrible cruelties; but I have so much to do, that I cannot carry this petition all around town; it will take so much time I shan't be able to finish this ruffle, or put the ribbon on this bonnet."

Women of Connecticut, I shall blush to acknowledge myself a woman, if women's souls have become so sear, so blighted, as to neglect this labor of humanity. But I cannot think it will be neglected. I cannot think there will be a falling off in this important work.

Let us rouse ourselves and pour an overwhelming flood of rebuke upon those beings who claim to be men, agents of those who style themselves the "FREEST NATION ON THE EARTH," and use their freedom to say, "For Four Hundred Dollars WASHINGTON may be a *Guinea coast* for *Tex-*

as,"—"For Four Hundred Dollars any wretch may trade in human flesh and bones, in slaves and the souls of men, in the Capital of 'THE REFUGE OF THE OPPRESSED.'"—"For Four Hundred Dollars any human hyena may FATTEN ON THE BLOOD OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, under the walls of our CAPITOL." Yes, worse still, they have made robbery, adultery and murder, free game—ay, honorable sport,—and he who holds the greatest number of trophies is deemed most noble. Up, my sister, speak while there is time. Millions are perishing, victims of your delay.

A COLORED WOMAN.

BENJAMIN LUNDY.

The following will explain itself, it refers to one of the greatest men "that ever lived in the tide of time." The lines are from the pen of our talented correspondent Susan Wilson, the Elizabeth Chandler of the Anti-Slavery cause.

THE VOW.

In the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," for Nov. 1832, the Editor of that work, BENJAMIN LUNDY, thus alludes to his early impressions: "Then did his young heart bound within his bosom, and his heated blood boil in his veins, on seeing droves of a dozen or twenty ragged men chained together and driven through the streets, bare-headed and bare-footed, through mud and snow, by the remorseless "soul sellers," with horsewhips and bludgeons in their hands!! It was the frequent repetition of such scenes as these, in the town of WHEELING, Virginia, that made those durable impressions on his mind relative to the horrors of the slave system, which have induced him to devote himself to the cause of *Universal Emancipation*. During an apprenticeship with a respectable mechanic of that place, he was, by these and other means, made acquainted with the cruelties and the despotism of slavery, as tolerated in this land; and he made a solemn vow to Almighty God, that, if favored with health and strength, he would break at least one link of that ponderous chain of oppression, when he should become a man."

And he kept it changelessly!—Oh, when he breathed that vow,

Who could have deem'd he'd tread such path unshrinkingly 'till now'?

Not they who o'er fictions woe, in some wild romance

mourn,
And waste their sympathy for ills that never have been borne.

But to his unconquer'd spirit has been many a trial known,

Such as (unsketch'd by fancy,) come in real life alone;
And onward, onward pressing still,—no momentary pause

E'er checks his high and fearless course in Freedom's sacred cause.

That cause will be triumphant!—and, if not on earth, in Heaven

The reward of his devotedness assuredly be given;
HE, who received that 'vow' has watched his devious pathway o'er,

Has led him through the fire unscathed,—unharm'd from shore to shore.

He will not bow to human power,—to pride or wealth or birth;

But asks and trusts *Jehovah's* aid in his chosen path on earth.

May, 1837.

For the National Reformer.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF BENJAMIN LUNDY.

LUNDY—the noble and the tried—

The chief of Freedom's mighty band,

Who stood for Freedom and for Right,

For God and for his native land!—

LUNDY—the friend of friendless men—

The fearless advocate of Truth—

Performing well in manhood's years

The vow and promise of his youth!*

LUNDY has fallen!—and the voice

That echoed over vale and hill—

Calling the friends of Freedom forth,

In the calm hush of death is still.

The wind sweeps sadly o'er his tomb,

Mindful of him who slumbers there—

Bearing to heaven the mournful tone

Of many a heartfelt, solemn prayer.

The earth, in all her wide domain,

Boasts not a counterpart of him;

For none may stand, as he has stood,

For Freedom when her fires are dim.

And Thou! whose right hand dealt the blow

Which took from us our cherished friend:

Oh! grant that Freedom's fires may burn

Gloriously bright unto the end!

Grant us his spirit, strong, yet mild,

Firm and unwavering unto death:—

The holy love which burned in him

Enquickened by Thy living breath!

* In early youth "he made a solemn vow to Almighty God, that, if favored with health and strength, he would break at least one link of that ponderous chain of oppression, when he should become a man."

Be ours the mantle of the dead !
 Our helmet faith, and truth our sword ;—
 Give us the strength and power we need
 To be the followers of our Lord !
 And grant that we may tread the path
 Which leads unto eternal bliss ;
 And in the spirit land may meet
 The pure and noble ones of this !

T. S. C.

For the National Reformer.
 WE THANK THEE.

"It is good for us to be here." *St. Mark 9, 5.*
 "We thank thee that we live in a land called a land of
 freedom, though it is a land of oppression."—*Rev. D.*
Bernard.

"'Tis good for us to be" where'er
 Thy will hath placed us, therefore, we
 Receive the lot thou'st given us here,—
 Its lights and shadows—gratefully :
 We thank thee for each fragrant flower,
 For every calm and sunny hour ;
 And what e'er thorns we've sometimes found,
 Whatever storms have gathered round,
 We thank thee, that thy watchful care
 Has saved us from a larger share.

We thank thee, that, while millions groan
 In fetters, forged by tyranny,
 Such woe as theirs we ne'er have known,
 But, e'en in slavery's home, are free ;
 And oh ! we thank thee fervently,
 That thou hast given us hearts to feel
 For those in bonds,—and earnestly
 We pray to thee their wounds to heal ;
 And pray for aid—that not in vain
 We strive to break the oppressor's chain.

S. WILSON.

OBITUARY.

Died, on the 17th ult., WM PENN, young-
 est son of Robert and Grace Douglass, in the
 23d year of his age.

Alas ! what are we mortals ! A tale that is
 told. A dream. An empty sound, that pass-
 eth on the wings away, and is forgotten. But
 a little while ago this very promising youth
 was the picture of health, and beheld by his
 affectionate parents with delight and satisfac-
 tion. No doubt by anticipation they enjoyed
 much happiness in his future prosperity. But
 the scene is changed. All that now remains
 of the much loved one, is a lump of lifeless
 clay. However, they may solace themselves
 that his nobler and better part still lives, and
 even with its God. For said the Divine Sa-
 vior of men—come unto me all ye that are
 weary and heavy laden, and I will give you
 rest. This truth then comforts the hearts of

the parents and sister, and causes them to bow
 with pious resignation to the will of Heaven,
 and though the scene indeed is changed with
 respect to their son and brother, it is in his
 favor. For the promise of the Savior is bright,
 dazzling and glorious beyond expression ; by
 an eye of faith they now can behold their
 loved one with those above. T. P. C.

For the National Reformer.

CONSECRATION OF ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH.

On Friday morning last, St. Thomas's
 Church, South Fifth street, was consecrated
 to the worship of Almighty God, by the Rt.
 Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, D. D., assisted by
 the Rector of the church, and several of the
 Episcopal clergy, with the wardens and ves-
 trymen. The ceremony did not fail to ex-
 cite the usual interest and solemnity. As the
 Bishop entered the church, followed by the
 clergy and vestrymen, repeating alternately a
 verse from the Psalm prescribed for such ser-
 vices, the congregation rose, and seemed to
 be impressed with the conviction, that they
 were standing where the great Eternal has
 said : "MY NAME shall be there." The
 sermon was delivered by the Bishop from the
 text : "Worship God," in his usual masterly
 style, and listened to with great interest and
 attention by the audience. It was truly grati-
 fying to witness the manifestations of joy and
 gladness among the people on seeing their
 pious work so happily completed.

"God grant that they who worship there
 May all at length in Heaven appear."

PHILADA. Dec. 21st, 1839. W.

Acknowledgement of donations received for
the Reformer,

From a Friend to intellectual improve-	
ment,	\$5 00
David Gordon,	5 00

TERMS OF PUBLICATION, &c. The size of
 the *National Reformer* will be sixteen pages, royal oc-
 tavo, and published monthly, at \$1.00 a year, in advance—
 six copies for \$5.00.

All communications, &c., relating to the editorial de-
 partment should be addressed, *post paid*, to ROBERT
 PURVIS, No. 11 Jefferson Row. Those that relate to
 subscriptions to this paper must be directed to JOHN P.
 BURR, 113 S. Fifth street.

Rev. JACOB RHODES has been appointed general
 agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and
 form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's
 operations, and subscriptions for the 'Reformer.'

AGENTS FOR THE NATIONAL REFORMER.

Massachusetts, New Bedford—Nathan Johnson.
 New York, Troy—Daniel A. Payne, Wm. Rich.
 New Jersey, Woodbury—John Freeman.
 " Burlington—Robert Taylor.
 Pennsylvania West Chester—Abraham D. Shad,
 " Columbia—Stephen Smith.
 " Harrisburg—Junius C. Morell.
 " Pittsburg—John Peck.

NATIONAL REFORMER.

"GOD HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN FOR TO DWELL ON ALL THE FACE OF THE EARTH."—Acts xvii. 26.

Published by the Board of Managers of the A. M. R. Society—W. Whipper, Editor.

No. 12.

PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER, 1839.

VOL. I.

TO OUR READERS.

The present number will close the first volume of the National Reformer. If we have failed to meet the public expectation, with regard to the amount and quality of the matter we have given to our readers, we challenge them to prove that we have, in a single instance, violated our expressed principles.

It is true that we have not kept pace with solar time, but our annual revolution has been performed, nevertheless. What if, like Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, our great distance from the centrifugal and centripetal powers have extended our annual revolution beyond the period of the physical globe we inhabit, it by no means excludes us from the pale of the moral world. For how can poor, feeble, finite man scan the omnipotent boundaries of the Deity, or measure the moral globe by physical landmarks. Nor can it be denied that great physical obstructions often retard the progress of moral events.

That we have succeeded thus far in proclaiming the principles of truth, justice, and equity, may be a matter of astonishment to some, while it animates us with fresh courage that, if we are faithful, we shall "endure to the end." We have aimed to identify ourselves with the cause of bleeding and imbruted humanity. We have called no man LORD—we acknowledge no man as MASTER—we know no SLAVES BUT IRON-HEARTED DESPOTS. Our object has been to maintain to the utmost of our ability those fundamental principles on which the rights of man are based, and level to the earth those partition walls that divide asunder the human affections, and shut out the great family of nations from one common brotherhood.

In the performance of this duty we have made just principles our POLAR STAR. We

* The editor resides 82 miles distant from the seat of publication.

have not turned either to the right or to the left to seek public favor. We have raised no sectarian banner, nor have we entered into partnership with *expediency*. We have been of *no* sect, creed, or complexion, for the sake of *all* sects, creeds, and complexions.

The cause of the oppressed, and those with whom we are identified, lies nearest our heart, and occupies the uppermost seat in our affections. But we are unwilling to style our paper "the only legitimate organ of the colored people," and thus, at one "fell swoop," expel from the platform those periodicals that are maintaining the cause of the slave with an ability that we can never hope to equal. The thoughts our mind dictates, and the fingers that move our pen, were bequeathed us by the God of nature for nobler purposes than to be sacrificed at the shrine of complexional favor. The rights for which we are contending are the rights of universal man, and we shall not wait to inquire whether the oppressed are white, red, black, or brown, before we have bestowed on them our sympathy. If there be those who assert that the God of heaven has despised us by putting a mark upon us, we say let them in His name *despise us too*. Let them be consistent and cease to assert that our condition ought to be improved. It will prove vain and foolish for them to attempt to arbitrate the decision of the Almighty. We here publicly renounce all COMPLEXIONAL ALLEGIANCE with every class of mankind. We do so in behalf of the cause of human freedom, and we appeal to our countrymen, of all complexions, to renounce it, and let us move onward to redeem man from the brutal grasp of his fellow-man. We solicit those that labor *with us*, and *for us*, to embrace the same principles, as the only sure means of achieving a speedy and final triumph over the powers of despotism.

In the prosecution of our humble task we

of nations. have often rode the boisterous billows of the Atlantic against the

may have often offended, and often erred, but surely there will be none so credulous as to doubt our fallibility. We take no pleasure in giving offence, and as our intellectual culture is more limited than that of our contemporaries, we are obliged to draw largely on the dictates of nature, which we hope will be a sufficient apology. We feel assured that the time will shortly come when the post we now occupy will be filled by those sufficiently adequate to the task. But, until then, we shall, in behalf of the righteous cause in which we are engaged, "cry aloud, and spare not." We will appeal to the rulers of the land for an extension of those republican principles which protect individual right. We solicit for our brethren only the possession of those rights and privileges that are enjoyed by other citizens. If they ask more we shall resist their claims; if they are satisfied with less we shall repudiate them.

We are unable to give renewed pledges for the improvement of the "Reformer," except that we shall increase our diligence. The principles that have governed us in the past shall guide us for the future. It is for these, and these alone, we ask your support. Shall we receive it? We propound this question for your serious consideration, and await your reply. Let us hear from you by return of mail.

CONGRESS.

The popular branch of our national legislature has spent nearly a month in organizing, owing to the disputed returns of the New Jersey members. One of their first acts has been an attempt to stifle the voice of petition on the subject of slavery.

"THE FREE COLORED POPULATION OF THESE UNITED STATES."

We conclude this subject from No. 9, page 138. The last general Convention of the "free colored people" was held in 1835, and ever since that period they have lost their representative character. As a distinct portion of the American people they have not since

that date prosecuted any fixed objects for general improvement. In their local relations, through the aid of kind friends and their own exertions, their intellectual and moral condition has been constantly advancing. Their attention has been directed to the subject of education; and through the aid of public and private schools, the youth of both sexes have made rapid improvement in the several branches of an English education, while a few have been fortunate enough to obtain classical instruction in high schools and colleges where the spirit of the Christian religion and republicanism had obliterated the spirit of caste. Nor has their external condition been neglected. Many of their houses for public worship have been remodeled and improved at an enormous expense; while in their personal appearance, dress, and general intelligence, they have kept pace with their more favored neighbors. But it is necessary here to record the fact, that with all the superior advantages this generation has received, there is less attention paid to the subject of liberty now, among the youths that have just arrived at manhood, than was practised by their fathers, when placed in more difficult and trying circumstances. We may doubtless ascribe the introduction of this lethargic spirit to several extraneous causes. The first of which springs from the great divisibility of sentiment that is known to exist among them as to the best means of promoting their own improvement. It has ever been the province of common minds to take but a single glance at the surface of superficial objects, and take refuge in their domain, while bolder and more penetrating intellects will press onward until they arrive at some grand fundamental principle for the government of their actions. These minor differences of opinion about measures so far from exhibiting symptoms of internal decay in an oppressed people, only brings to light their moral and intellectual power, which needs only the concentration of its several parts, in order that they may prove successful in promoting their own redemption. Those individuals that have been distinguished on the page of history, and been regarded by posterity as the ornaments

of nations, have often rode the boisterous wave of popular hatred, because they differed from the mass of mankind on some favorite topic of popular favor. Plans for promoting the happiness of mankind fail only when those who advocate them become diverted from the objects in pursuit. The collision of mind with mind, seldom narrows down the pathway of duty, but often illumines and hastens the march of just principles. Those that tear down the institutions of human society, however trivial in their nature, without erecting others in their stead, more adapted to the spirit of the age, and the triumph of just principles, inflict lasting, and often fatal depredations on the great interests of mankind. Let the world learn to despise the theories of those that pretend to know so much, and are willing to do so little. They vindicate their position by the stereotyped apology that there are no organizations that suit the tenor and dispositions of their minds. This, at best, is but the badge of the idle, and they are often but a blot on the face of creation. Their course would gratify every intelligent tyrant on the face of the earth. The present silence and inactivity of the "colored people" of the Northern, Eastern, and Middle states, is now a great drawback on the cause of human freedom, both in this country and throughout the world. The majority of them are governed by the tyrant plea, "necessity." If they continue to fold their arms in such shameful indifference to the march of truth—the progress of liberty—the cause of the slave, and their own religious, moral, and political degradation, the thunder-tones of the moral world—the earthquake-voice of Almighty power—the disembodied spirit of universal liberty, will brand them as imbecile traitors to their own vital interests—the "freedmen" of Europe will look on them with scorn and contempt for their pusillanimity, while posterity will rise up and "call them cursed."

They are now capable, by their moral and intellectual ability, of giving a powerful impetus to the cause of universal emancipation. With but a few exceptions their organized powers have been dormant. The taunt of Europe is borne on almost every free breeze

across the billows of the Atlantic against the "institution of American slavery." The churches too have sent forth their testimony against this "giant sin" of our land, to their American brethren. The brightest stars in the "political galaxy" of old England have hurled forth their bitter anathemas against it, until they have reached every hill-top and valley from the eastern borders of this continent to our western horizon. Men who are the pride and ornaments of Britain—the names of Buxton, McCaulley, O'Connell, and Scoble, with many others are registered on the page of Freedom's history. In this country, the testimony of Synods, Presbyteries, Conferences, &c. proclaims the right of the slave to the enjoyment and possession of his own freedom, while the larger ecclesiastical bodies have been shaken to the centre by discussion on this momentous subject.

But where, let us ask, have the "colored churches" spoken out against American slavery, *as churches*? This sin, that is of itself a "bill of abominations," filled with murder, robbery, theft, and licentiousness, must needs be condemned by the COLORED CHURCHES. This sin that conflicts more with the law of the great arbiter of human events, than any other, must receive the universal condemnation of every *church* and professing Christian in the land, if they desire to be considered representatives of him who came to "set the captive free."

What security have we that the members of "*colored churches*" may not only be aiders and abettors in this unholy traffic that blots out the "immortal soul," but that they may actually become *slaveholders*, and remain in the bonds of Christian fellowship with their brethren? For aught we know there is no just reason why this might not be, any more than that rum-sellers and dram-drinkers are now admitted into full communion in the sacred ordinances of the church. We have yet to learn (and we hope our kind friends will inform us if we err) whether the *colored churches* have adopted any measures that would expel a slaveholder from the sacred offices of the church.

more. If we admit the *fatalism* that we need high origin, and are equally clothed with ...

On this subject, as on every other for the promotion of human happiness, it becomes us to take the highest ground, and labor with those whose aim it is to purge the church from uncleanness. We should overlook every superficial obstacle, and unite with the friends of freedom, of righteousness, justice, truth, and mercy, every local, national, and complexional distinction, and mount the platform of universal humanity, and there labor for the glorious triumph of civil and religious liberty, and the universal rights of man.

OUR ELEVATION.

"We must first be elevated," is the fatal and erroneous dogma, ushered forth by the enemies of human liberty, when the advocates of freedom claim for the "colored population" the rights, privileges, and immunities, enjoyed by other American citizens. This vain, foolish, and frivolous objection, *based upon falsehood*, if not strangled in its conception should have been annihilated at its birth. The failure of meeting it, as it ought to have been done, has given our enemies an advantage over us, the effect of which will be to procrastinate the period of the slave's redemption. The ancient flood that swept off the antediluvians, and destroyed the face of the physical globe, was less injurious in its effect on the *natural*, than *prejudice and slavery* is now on the *intellectual and moral* world. We want not only language to express our detestation of existing evils, but we need new terms for the vindication of our rights. We, too, have been allured by false idioms. We have been advocates of the doctrine that we must be "*elevated*" before we could expect to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship. We now utterly discard it, and ask pardon for our former errors. We do now henceforth, and for ever deny, that in the republican sense of the term, the colored population need to be "*elevated*." The Almighty having clothed us with the attributes of human nature, we are placed on an equality with the rest of mankind. The declaration of American Independence, and our nation's bill of rights, asks no more. If we admit the *fatalism* that we need

to be elevated, before we are fitted to possess the rights and privileges of the "white man," we consequently acknowledge our inferiority in the scale of creation. Let not the "colored man," nor his advocate, attempt to erect the temple of freedom on such a sandy foundation. Let us reject every attempt to dethrone the dignity of our manhood, so long as the spirit of freedom runs in our veins, and we feel within us the evidences of immortality.

Let us rest our cause on the republican standards of our revolutionary fathers, while we knock at the doors of the constitution and demand an entrance. If we are asked, what evidences we bring to sustain our qualifications for citizenship, we will offer them certificates of our BIRTH and NATIVITY. If we are denied admission, let the cause of our rejection be ascribed to our complexion. Then we shall have a fair view of the question at issue. Then we shall be able to see (and our friends too) that it is not our impiety—our ignorance—our immorality, or our wicked customs and habits, that places us without the pale of constitutional landmarks. But that it is our complexion alone that furnishes the apology. If we could by a single "feat" of nature change our complexion, every objection to our full exercise of constitutional privileges would be banished before to morrow's sun. We therefore hope that our friends will cease to place any faith in the doctrine, that our religious, literary, and moral improvement, will be the means of enfranchising us. We need all these much, for our spiritual, moral and intellectual improvement, for the promotion of our present and future welfare. But these are not constitutional requirements. The American people, in their conventional and legislative capacity, *dare not* set up such a *test* on which to base the rights of citizenship. To carry out such a principle would disfranchise half the white population, while it would bestow on hundreds of thousands of colored those very privileges of which they are now deprived. We are not humbly begging the white man to "*elevate us*." He cannot do it. We have emanated from the same high origin, and are equally clothed with the

divine image as he is. As no ordinance of man can nullify the laws of our Creator, so no human effort can eject us from the platform of natural equality. All we ask of them is, that they take their "feet from of our necks," that we may stand free and erect like themselves. We have prescribed for them no form of government, all we desire is that they will practice their own professed principles. In our present form of government, the will of the people is the law of the land. It is therefore the rankest form of injustice and despotism to require of those whom they have denied the exercise of their will, in the formation of those laws; to yield implicit obedience to the same. All we ask of them to perform they have sworn before high Heaven to execute.

Our object in penning the present article is to disabuse the public mind with regard to a fatal error that has long been entertained by many gifted and philanthropic minds, viz. that our religious, moral, and intellectual elevation would secure us our political privileges. We aver that it will not. We can now produce sufficient samples in these virtues and acquirements to redeem the character of a world. Sodom would have been saved with a far less proportion. No, if we had colored men who could write like Paul, preach like Peter, pray like Aminadab, iron hearted prejudice would cry out he is *black*. If our halls of science, the bar, and the forum reverberated with the eloquence of Cicero, or Demosthenes, or, to come down to more modern times, if *they* were capable of eclipsing those master spirits of the American Senate with the power of their genius—or possessed of the wealth of Cræsus or a Girard, the vulgar voice of the populace would cry out, they are a degraded people, *because they are black*. We are not among those doubting priests that believe that neither "religion, humanity, or legislation," can remove this *unholy prejudice*. We know it to be vincible, and we feel assured that where true religion and humanity exists it cannot enter. Every human being that hates his brother without a cause, is totally destitute of the spirit Christianity. Our political elevation is dependent on the improve-

ment of the white man's heart, not the colored man's mind. We need moral and intellectual cultivation, as a means through which we may be able to improve the hearts of our enemies. Our present situation is a living commentary on the wicked principle that governs American legislation and controls American justice.

We insert the communication of J. G. W. W. on the subject of Trinidad emigration, because we are in favor of a free expression of opinion, on all subjects connected with our "common welfare."

It is scarcely necessary to add, that we dissent from the views of our correspondent, as our own opinion has been expressed in the last number. We have believed from the beginning that the undue excitement on this subject was "destined to perish."—*Ed.*

For the National Reformer.

EMIGRATION—TRINIDAD.

MR. EDITOR:—We live in an age when it becomes us to expend no more time in erecting cob-houses and castles of straw, but to contemplate our condition and prospects as they exist and are likely to continue. It should not be expected that our whole people can be of 'one mind' on every point of policy that may command our attention; and if I shall be found to differ from the majority on a subject which commands and should receive the serious attention of every intelligent man among us, I trust that due toleration will be observed, and that this will be met in the same spirit for the general good which dictates it.

Ever since the abolition of involuntary servitude in the now professedly non-slaveholding states, the people of color have been anxiously, but almost hopelessly, looking forward to "better days." The design of the noble philanthropists of that period, through whose instrumentality the happy event was brought about, was to raise an injured people above the level of an inferior creation and place them upon the proper footing of humanity. So far as the first great movement was concerned in achieving this end, all was as well done as could be expected; but the sun has oft rolled his annual course since then, and time has unhappily proved that they were not only left alone in a condition of nominal freedom, but every walk of life into which they might have entered for their further improvement and advantage, was closed against them. In-

stead even of retaining them, with their own consent, in those occupations which were their allotment in the days of bondage, the door was thrown open to adventurers from other nations to seek a home in this "asylum for the oppressed." As fast as their places could be supplied by others, those whose claims *first* demanded attention and consideration were the first to be rejected. Thus were the people of color gradually driven from agriculture; until now, a colored farmer of any considerable note in these Atlantic States, is something of rare existence.

Now, too, have the descendants of those who might have justly viewed the event of their emancipation as the presage of a happier and nobler existence, learned, with ever attending humiliation, that the change of condition, though infinitely preferable, was but *one step* towards the enjoyment of civil liberty and equality; and when they had made that one step, they discovered that those who had suffered them to advance that far, had erected a "wall as high as the Heavens," having its foundation in the opposite regions; which, to this hour, we, as a people, have never been able to pass. Nor is there aught that we can do, or bring within our power, that will be received as a legal tender to enable us to surmount this barrier. We have tried morality, religion, education, wealth! But no: these, singly or together, do not suffice to "pass the barrier," if, perchance, the "sun hath looked upon him!" Those who would befriend us must come over to us, and be with us, and oftentimes suffer proscription even as we. Many have come over, and have endeavored by every moral device (and latterly have determined to try political,) to break through the formidable structure and secure to us a free passage; but, sad reflection! so far their efforts may be compared to the day's labor of a man with a pick-axe striving to make an aperture through the "rock of Gibraltar," and finds, at sun-set, that he has scarcely succeeded in making a perceivable indentation. Even less effectual, if possible, than would be such a feat, have been the persevering and untiring exertions of our friends; for whatever fragments the former might succeed in scaling away, would be certain to return no more to his annoyance: but for every stone which the latter may have succeeded in *shaking*, ten more have been piled thereon, rendering it still more firm than before. This, indeed, is cold comfort!—this, truly, is a sorry picture!—but is it wholly, if at all, untrue?

What, then is to be done? What shall we

do? It is answered, let us shake the dust from our feet and leave the country. We have been taught by time and experience that we cannot here rise above the condition of subordinates and servitude; and shall we be content to submit still longer, "hoping without hope" that such condition will be improved? In the face of all experience there is no ground for such hope. Let the truth be told: while we remain here, unless by the special interposition of Him, with whom nothing is impossible, *we must remain as we are*. Human nature is the same now as it always has been and ever will be—until the Millennium!—and the genius of 'our' government is peculiarly adapted to sustain and to cherish many of its vilest and most heinous developments. We have no means for any important accomplishments, or of resistance to overpowering prejudice, in our hands, but must be content to submit to the *will* of those who reign over us.

This state of things must be apparent to the mind of every reflecting man of color. And if, after dismissing all fanciful expectations, we see a mode of escape—a plan of redemption—shall we hesitate for a moment as to what we owe to ourselves and our posterity in regard to it? Shall we still covet—still cling with a worse than grovelling tenacity to imbecility, meniality and contempt, which is all we can hope to inherit in this, the land of our nativity? Callous insensibility to wrong and outrage may indeed whisper, 'a little longer;' and so no doubt sighed the first hapless bondman whose lot was cast upon this continent.

In view of these facts I beg leave to recommend to every colored man who regards his own interests, and that of his offspring and his people, to give earnest attention to the inducements held out by the Council of Government of Trinidad, for emigration to that colony. Let all read, examine, and judge for themselves.—They will have to labor, of course, when they get there; but that labor is full of incentive and encouragement. *There*, men are estimated according to their merits, and as they merit, will be eligible to receive honorable rewards. And is there one among us whose bosom does not yearn to dwell under such a government?

But, Mr. Editor, lest I should trespass upon your space and patience, I forbear more, and leave every reader to think for himself.

J. G. W. W.

Philadelphia, Sept. 27, 1859.

PRO-SLAVERY OBJECTIONS.

One of the standard objections of the pro-slavery North, to the emancipation of Southern slaves is, that the nominally free States will be overrun with a vagabond and useless population. The assertion is void of truth. No intelligent slave is willing to take up his abode on the constitutional territory of the slaveholder. They have learned at home, that the *kidnapper is abroad*—that Pennsylvania and New York are the “man thief’s” hunting ground. They pant to tread the soil of the free Canadas, or dig the rich earth of Victoria’s isles. Another is, that they can’t amalgamate with the whites. But they do amalgamate? It is true, they seldom worship God under the same “vine and fig tree” together, or partake of the “holy ordinances” at the same board, or receive their education under the same roof, or form nuptial alliances. But these are virtues that are forbidden by pro-slavery religion, pro-slavery morals, and pro-slavery science. But they do amalgamate? The fact illumines every page of the record of crime. We are sorry that it is so, but we cannot help it. Look at the gaming table, the haunts of dissipation, the grog-shop, the ale-house, and our prisons, these all bear indubitable evidence that the mixing process is still going on. But what says pro-slavery religion to this? Oh! “*nothing, only* that they cannot be associated for the promotion of virtuous objects.” “God never intended that they should occupy the same platform with the white man, and the Bible says, ‘servants obey your masters, &c.’” Now we need no better evidence, that pro-slavery religion is the spirit of the *pit*, than that we always find it arrayed against the promotion of virtue, justice, love, order and humanity. We therefore, call on every slaveholder to emancipate his slaves, and avoid worse consequences. There is no danger but they will colonize themselves a sufficient distance from his tyrannical spirit, to secure their own happiness. The liberal policy of Great Britain is constantly inviting them to her shores. The great contrast between British, and American laws, has already settled the question, whether there is more liberty enjoyed under a *republic*, than a limited monarchy.

“I write injuries on dust—favors on marble.”

Citizen Granville.

Extract from a letter to the Editor.

“*Dear Friend*,—Being now confined to my room by severe indisposition, I avail myself of the opportunity which it affords me, to address you a few lines, informing you first of all, that I received a few copies of the *National Reformer*, by the hands of my friend the Rev. John Watts; for which you will please accept my grateful thanks. I have perused them attentively, and I am much pleased with their contents. They do not only set forth *truths* which are powerful, and which must prevail!—they do not only wage a defensive war against the assassins of liberty; but are also carrying on an aggressive war with the kingdom of darkness, and against “spiritual tyranny and wickedness in high places.” I am proud to find you engaged in such a daring and noble enterprise. As one who feels deeply interested for the elevation of the long trodden down descendants of Africa, you have my fullest and fondest wishes for your abundant and final success. Believing that the *National Reformer* will soon take (if she has not already taken) her place amongst those brilliant constellations of the North, which now, like the morning light, are pouring floods of intelligence upon the world, which receive the contributions of some of those mighty minds who are examining every principle of human science, and illuminating the dark places of the earth. There certainly is a great work for men of moral and intellectual abilities to do. Upon them rests the arduous task and responsibility of enlightening the great mass.

The five great cardinal virtues, or principles, discussed in your paper, and by your Moral Reform Societies, viz., Industry, Education, Temperance, Economy, and Universal Liberty, are under the blessings of God, the great conservative of nations. It is *these* which rear up the lofty columns of national glory, and *these* alone can prevent them from crumbling into ashes. But oh! how different the course which you recommend, from that which some, who occupy high stations in our churches, who, instead of using all diligence in carrying out those lofty themes, they are sitting down in quiet indifference waiting for the crisis of the nations to be introduced, and vainly expecting that the succeeding events, over which we have no control, are destined to waft us, wave after wave, into final glory. It is no wonder then, that the wheels of moral and mental illumination are stayed, when the spirit by which they ought to go, has either been taken away, or has never been transfused into them.”

AMISTAD CAPTIVES.

We bespeak from our readers an attentive perusal of the following righteous decision of the court in the case of the unfortunate Africans.

From the New Haven Palladium.

DECISION OF THE COURT.

His Honor, JUDGE JUDSON, has kindly permitted us to publish his very able Decision, in the case of the Africans, from his own manuscript.

DISTRICT COURT OF THE U. S.
DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, Jan. 7, 1840. }
Thos. R. Gedney and others, }
vs. } *Libel for Salvage.*
The Schooner L'Amistad. }

On the 26th of August, 1839, Lieut. Gedney, commanding the brig Washington, of the U. S. Navy, seized and brought into the port of New London, in this District, the schooner L'Amistad, with a cargo of goods, and 49 Africans, then claimed as slaves by Don Pedro Montez and Don Jose Ruiz, subjects of her Catholic Majesty the Queen of Spain—the said Montez and Ruiz also being on board the schooner. On the arrival of the schooner within this District, New London being the first port into which the schooner was brought after her seizure, a libel was filed here by Lieut. Gedney, the officers and crew of the brig Washington, claiming salvage.

At a special District Court, held on the 19th of September, other libels were also filed in the following order:—

That of Jose Ruiz.

That of Pedro Montez.

That of Henry Green and Peletiah Fordham.

A libel in behalf of the United States by the District Attorney—first, claiming that the vessel, cargo and slaves be restored to the owners, being Spanish subjects—and, secondly, demanding that the negroes be delivered up to the President to be transported to Africa.

That of the Spanish Consul claiming Antonio.

And on the 19th day of November another libel was also filed, by the District Attorney, in favor of the United States, alleging that the Spanish Minister had, in pursuance of the treaty between the United States and Spain, demanded of the government of the United States, the restoration of the schooner L'Amistad, her cargo, and the slaves on board for the owners thereof, being subjects of Spain.

The ordinary process of attachment issued,

and the schooner, goods, and Africans so alleged to be slaves were taken into custody by the Marshal of this District, for adjudication upon these various libels and claims.

At the District Court in November, a part of these Africans, by their counsel filed a plea to the jurisdiction of this Court, alleging that they were born in Africa; that they were free; and that they were seized within the territorial jurisdiction of the State of New York, claiming to be set at liberty.

This plea is now withdrawn, and an answer is filed alleging, substantially, as follows:—That Cinquez, Banna 1st., Damma, Fawni 1st., Phumah, Connoma, Choday, Bunnah 2d., Baah, Cebba, Pooma, Kimbo, Peeah, Bangyah, Saah, Coelee, Parte, Mona, Nahquoi, Quato, Jesse, Con, Fawni 2d., Kenna, Laumamee, Fajana, Jebboy, Fanguanah, Bewnu, Fawnu, Cherkenall, Gubbo, Curre, Seme, Kene, Majera, are all Africans, entitled to their freedom; that the said schooner was at anchor near Culloden Point, within the territorial jurisdiction of the State of New York, and that part of said Africans, as named in said plea and answer, were on shore on Long Island, within the jurisdictional limits of the State of New York; whereupon they say that this Court hath no jurisdiction over their persons, and pray to be discharged.

Lieut. Gedney now appears and pursues his claim for salvage. Henry Green and Mr. Fordham appear and pursue their claim for salvage. The District Attorney of Connecticut pursues the libels filed by him in behalf of the government of the United States, and in behalf of the Minister of Spain, for a restoration of the ship, cargo and slaves, under the treaty between Spain and the United States.

In the discussion of this case have been involved numerous questions, of great importance, requiring, as we have seen, industrious examination and patient deliberation. It has been my endeavor to afford ample time for this investigation; and the ability with which these questions have been discussed at the bar, must satisfy all, that every thing which talent and learning could accomplish, has been done.

It devolves upon the Court to dispose of these various and complicated questions, in such manner as will seem to be demanded by the laws of the land; and of this the responsibility rests on me. That responsibility will be met, and when discharged according to the dictates of my own conscience, I shall be relieved from its further perplexities.

It will be a satisfaction, while doing this, that neither party or claimant can be prejudiced by my determination, because the law

secures an appeal to the highest tribunal in this country, where my decision may be both reviewed, and, if wrong, corrected.

It is then of little importance to the persons in interest, what may be the determination of this Court, for a case like this will not and should not rest upon a single trial, without review before the Supreme Court, in whose decision all would be satisfied.

The case is not only important to those immediately interested, but there are involved principles important to the nation and the world. If a few months have elapsed since this cause has been pending, it has been owing to circumstances beyond my control, but this surely has produced no inconvenience or suffering to those in custody. They have all been humanely treated; liberally fed and clothed by the government, into whose hands they have been providentially cast. Whatever may be the final result of this case, so far, it may be safely said that no one step has been taken which could have been avoided.

I do not say that it is my wish to escape the responsibilities which devolve upon me, neither would it be just to myself to say that I have not been deeply anxious to investigate this case and decide it according to its true merits.

The first question, to which my attention is called, is that of jurisdiction. Although the first plea has been withdrawn, yet the allegations in the present answer require an examination of the evidence with that view. If indeed the evidence does not show a case, of which the Court has cognizance by law, it will be my duty still to dismiss it. In point of fact where was the *Amistad* seized? It will be recollected that at a former District Court, the Attorney for the United States was directed to examine this place, in company with the counsel on the other side; this has been done, and on a careful examination of the evidence, I find, as a matter of fact, that the schooner lay in three and a half fathoms of water, where the tide ebbs and flows, not less than half a mile from the shore, off Cullen Point, five or six miles from Montauk;

25 miles from Sag Harbor; 18 miles from New London,—not in any known harbor, river or port.

The jurisdiction of the District Court is wholly regulated by a statute. By the laws of Congress, each District Court has exclusive jurisdiction over all seizures made within that District. A vessel seized in one District, cannot be carried into another for adjudication. Another branch of the statute provides that where the seizure is made, on the *high*

seas, the vessel seized may be carried into any District in the United States, and must be tried where first carried in.

Was the *Sch. L'Amistad* seized on the *high seas*? The answer to the question depends on the legal signification of the term *high seas*, as used in the Judiciary act of 1789. Here I have no new path to mark out for others, but only to adopt the language of learned *jurists* who have gone before me, and yield my assent to determinations already made. To the former I can listen with respect, but to the latter I am bound to yield obedience, as to the settled law of the land.

Perhaps a more conclusive argument cannot be found, than that of Mr. Webster, before the Supreme Court, in the case of the *U. States vs. Bevin*, (3 *Whea.* 336.) This is the language: "The common and obvious meaning of the expression *high seas*, is also the true legal meaning. The expression describes the open ocean, where the dominion of the winds and the waves prevail, without check or control. Ports and havens, on the contrary, are places of refuge, in which protection and shelter are sought, from this turbulent dominion, within the inclosures and projections of the land. The *high seas*, and *havens*, instead of being of similar import, are always terms of opposition.—The *high seas* imports the uninclosed and open ocean, without the *fauces terrae*. Ports and havens are not parts of the *high seas*, they are within the bodies of counties."

This lucid exposition of the term *high seas*, accords with all the learned commentators, ancient and modern. It may be added, that the place must be where the tide ebbs and flows, and the *high seas* extends to low water mark; but does not extend to harbors, ports, or rivers.

In this case the seizure was not made in any harbor, port, bay or river. There is scarcely an indentation on the coast between Montauk and Culloden point. Had this schooner been seized within a port or harbor like Sag Harbor—Black Rock—Gardner's Bay, the aspect of the case would have been changed. But this was in fact made many miles from any known port or harbor. The place of seizure was therefore on the open ocean "where the dominion of the winds and waves prevail without check or control." That it was near Montauk—that it was less than one mile from the shore, does not vary the legal result.

The well known position of Montauk adds conclusiveness to the argument. We all understood from childhood, that Montauk is a

point of land projecting into the *sea*. The waters of the open ocean have been beating there for ages past, and must continue during all time to come. The waves of the Atlantic roll in constant succession over the spot where the *L'Amistad* lay when seized by the Washington.

This proposition does not rest on mere argument. It has the sanction of high judicial authority. Judge Story, eminent here and elsewhere as a jurist, puts an end to all doubt or cavil, and compels me to hold cognizance of this case. The *Sloop Abby*, (1st of Mason, 360,) was determined by the Circuit Court in the 1st Circuit, and from that case I quote the opinion of Judge Story, as follows:

"I agree (says the learned Judge,) that the Court below had no cognizance of the cause, if the seizure, on which the libel was founded, was in the port of Portland, for the judiciary act of 1789, ch. 20. s. 9, gives *exclusive* jurisdiction of all seizures made *within* any district, to the District Court of *such* district. Concurrent jurisdiction in the District Court only, where the seizure is made on the *high seas*. But the objection here fails in point of fact. "The seizure (of the *Abby*) was first made about 5 miles off Cape Elizabeth, and was therefore on the *high seas*, since *all* waters below the line of low water mark, on the sea coast, are comprehended within that description; and where the tide flows, the waters to high water mark, are also properly the *high seas*."

Will it be seriously urged, that because the *L'Amistad* had passed Montauk light, that she was not on the *high seas*? Suppose she had actually been 25 miles further the N. W. in Long Island Sound—with Long Island on the S., Connecticut on the N., Gardner's Island, Fisher's Island, Plumb Island and Rock Island to the East, would she have been, even then, within the body of any County? For all purposes of Admiralty any part of *Long Island Sound* is to be considered *high seas*. In the case of the *Elizabeth*, 1st Paine's Rep. page 10, it was held "*that Long Island Sound does not belong to either Connecticut or New York, nor to any District in either of those States.*"

It has been urged as a matter of law, that the Africans on shore at the time the vessel was seized cannot be subject to the admiralty power of the Connecticut District, nor any other admiralty jurisdiction. The only reply which need be given to this claim, is, that those on shore were there for a specific and a temporary object, to furnish the vessel with water and provisions for the continuance of

their voyage to Sierra Leone. They were still attached to the schooner, in the same manner as those who continued on board.—The case seems not to require any distinction of this sort, and none can be recognised.

191 Kent, 379. If the admiralty has cognizance of the principal thing, it has also of the incident, though that incident would not, of itself, and if it stood for a principal thing, be within the admiralty jurisdiction. (3 Blackstone, 108—1 Com. Dig. 596, Title F. 6.)

Surely, then, the waters upon either side of Montauk cannot be deemed within the exclusive jurisdiction of the District Court of New York. Whether she was within the *territorial jurisdiction*, in another sense, is not important to this question. The question is, was she within the *exclusive* jurisdiction of the District Court of that state? She was not. To say otherwise, would be a perversion of the plain provisions of the Act of Congress, and an utter defiance of all authority. This cannot be done. It is the business of this Court to pronounce what the law is. These principles being settled, and applied to the facts of this case, the consequence follows, that the seizure of the *L'Amistad* was made on the *High Seas*, and having been first brought into the District of Connecticut, the jurisdiction of this Court attaches to the whole subject matter.

This opinion does not conflict with the opinion of the Circuit Court, as pronounced in September last. I refer now to that part of the case which was before the Grand Jury, relating to the murder of Capt. Ferrer. That case turned upon the national character of the vessel. The *L'Amistad* was owned by a Spanish subject—she sailed under a Spanish flag—was commanded by a subject of the Queen of Spain—and the homicide was committed by Africans, on board this foreign vessel. *No Court* in the United States could hold jurisdiction of that case. The laws of Spain alone could reach the act. In the administration of criminal law, the offence must be punished where committed. It is an universal rule.

A crime committed in England, can be tried here.

A crime committed in one state, is no offence against the laws of another state.

A crime committed in one county, cannot be tried in another county.

Had this schooner been an American vessel, the Court would have held cognizance of that case.

Having thus disposed of the question of jurisdiction, I proceed to the consideration of

the merits of the case. The libel of Thomas R. Gedney and others is properly filed here.

We approach now the merits of the case, and the facts involved may be stated in few words; and about these facts there is little diversity of thought. A Spanish vessel owned in Cuba, proceeded from thence to the coast of Africa, and having procured a cargo of native Africans, returned and landed them near Havana, where they were put into a slave mart for sale. Within fifteen days from the time of landing, Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montez, subjects of the Queen of Spain, and residents of Guanaja, in the Province of Puerto Principe, on the Island of Cuba, being at Havana, purchased fifty four of these Africans. The schooner *L'Amistad*, then lying in the port of Havana, possessing rightfully the national character of a Spanish vessel, owned and commanded by one Raymond Ferrer, master, and regularly and lawfully licensed in the coasting trade, between the ports of Havana and Guanaja, and being laden with Spanish goods for the latter port, the said Ruiz and Montez put on board thereof the said fifty-four Africans, with permits from the Governor of the Island of Cuba, to be transported as freight to the said port of Guanaja; and the said Ruiz and Montez took passage in said schooner. All grounds of suspicion that the *L'Amistad* had been any wise connected with the original importation of these Africans, is wholly excluded from the case.

Three days from Havana, the negroes rose upon the vessel and killed the master and cook, and by force took command, and after being sixty-three days upon the ocean, she came into the waters of the United States, in a condition perilous to the vessel and the lives of Ruiz and Montez and all others on board. Being found as heretofore stated, the schooner and all belonging to her was seized by the brig *Washington*, and from thence was first brought into the port of New London, within the district of Connecticut; and the schooner, cargo, and Africans now claimed as slaves, are here libelled for salvage, by Lieut. Gedney, &c.

Having stated these various claims, and the circumstances of the seizure, I will now proceed to the consideration of each claim, somewhat in the order in which they stand upon the record.

1. The claim of the officers of the brig *Washington*.

In considering and disposing of this claim, it may not be improper to divide it into two parts.

1st. The vessel and goods.

2d. The Africans alleged to have been the slaves of Messrs. Ruiz and Montez.

1st. The claims to salvage for the vessel and goods, stands upon ground, almost beyond question. The services rendered by Lieut. Gedney were not only meritorious, but highly praiseworthy. They were such, as would entitle the seizer to his proper allowance. The vessel was at the mercy of the winds and waves. She was in the possession and under the command of those negroes, who were utterly ignorant of the science of navigation—without law or order—without commission or any lawful authority, guided alone by their ignorance or caprice—just on the point of sailing for the coast of Africa, and yet without the possibility of conducting the vessel in safety for a single day.

The seizure under such circumstances, was meritorious, and will entitle the seizers to an adequate compensation, unless something shall be found in the case, to oust them of this right. In opposition to this claim, Pedro Montez and Jose Ruiz, allege that they, each of them, own a part of these goods, and the Minister of her Catholic Majesty in behalf of the owners of the schooner and the residue of the goods on board, alleges that the whole were owned by subjects of the Queen of Spain, and that under the Treaty, between Spain and the U. States, a restoration, entire, should be decreed.

Here it may be remarked that Montez and Ruiz have ceased to prosecute their claims in person, and the Spanish Minister comes in the name of his government, basing himself on the treaty of 1795, for them and in their stead, claims the restoration entire of the vessel, the cargo and slaves. There are two articles in the Treaty of 1795, which have some bearing on this question.

The 8th Art. "In case the subjects and inhabitants of either party, with their shipping, whether public and of war, or private and of merchants, be forced through stress of weather, pursuit of pirates or enemies, or any other urgent necessity, for taking of shelter and harbor, to retreat and enter into any of the rivers, bays, roads, or ports, belonging to the other party, they shall be received and treated with all humanity and enjoy all favor, protection and help, and they shall be permitted to refresh, and provide themselves at reasonable rates, with victuals and all things needful, for the subsistence of their persons, or reparation of their ships, and prosecution of their voyage; and they shall no ways be hindered from returning out of the said ports or roads, but may remove and depart, when

and whither they please, without any let or hindrance."

6th Art. "Each party shall endeavor, by all means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels, and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea or by land, and shall use all their efforts to recover and cause to be restored to the right owners, their vessels and effects, which may have been taken from them, within the extent of their said jurisdiction, whether they are at war or not with the power whose subjects have taken possession of said effects."

A treaty is binding upon the two nations making it, and the same becomes a part of the laws of each country. It is to be expounded by the same rules of construction as are applied to other laws; and it becomes the duty of the Judicial department, as well as the Executive of each country, to carry them into effect. The fair and liberal construction of these two articles must be applied to the Schooner L'Amistad and the goods, for those are the *effects* of the subjects of Spain. And by effects, I understand their lawful property.

It was the duty of Lieut. Gedney, by all means in his power, to protect and defend this vessel, and use all his efforts to recover and cause to be restored to their rightful owners, the schooner and her *effects*, because by an *urgent necessity*, provided for in the 8th Article, she had taken shelter in our waters, and now, *at reasonable rates*, this vessel and her effects must be restored to their rightful owners.

But it cannot be supposed, that in case of a demand for a restoration a *literal construction* should be given to this treaty. Suppose the hull of a vessel coming in like this has been so far damaged, that without immediate repairs she could not be kept above water, and these repairs were made, cannot the *material men* (as they are called) libel the vessel in a Court of Admiralty here and recover these repairs? Certainly. It must be, as the treaty provides, "at a reasonable rate." So in this case, the services in saving of this vessel must be compensated, "*at a reasonable rate.*" The manner of doing this will be shown hereafter.

It results then, that the seizers are entitled to salvage. This lien is placed upon the vessel and her effects by the laws of all nations. It is founded on the broad principles of justice acknowledged by all, and the treaty stipulation is entered into, with this lien, which can not be considered as inconsistent with the

treaty. The decree will be, that the schooner and her effects be delivered up to the Spanish government, upon the payment, at a *reasonable rate*, for the services in saving this property from entire loss.

An appraisement will be ordered, and one-third of that amount and cost will be deemed just and reasonable.

2d. The next question is, can salvage be allowed upon the slaves?

There are insuperable objections to this portion of the claim. There is no foundation here laid for a decree in personam. The decree, if at all, must operate in rem. That is, the salvage must be considered as a lien upon the slaves themselves, and the amount to be decreed must be raised out of them, as out of other property.

Here then I find this claim hedged about by fixed and known laws over which it would be impossible for me to leap. I have heretofore decided, in the very outset of this case, that these alleged slaves cannot be sold. There is no law of the U. States or of the State of Connecticut by which title can be given to them under any decree of the Court. I am still confirmed in that opinion. It is impossible! Can a decree be predicated upon a supposed valuation to be ascertained by an appraisal? There is no authority in this court to cause such an appraisal. Who can appoint these appraisers? Who can administer to them an oath? And above all, by what rule could their estimate be formed?

Are they to be estimated by their value in the District of Connecticut? That is not one cent. The laws which I am bound to administer can recognise no value in them. Can the appraisers travel into other States or countries to seek their value? Surely not. If a decree should be made, it would be wholly nugatory, inoperative and void. This the Court is never called upon to do. When a decree is made, it always presupposes that the Court making it, possesses the power of enforcing it. This part of the claim, therefore, will be passed over.

Next comes the libel of Green and Fordham. This claim is rested upon the idea that they had taken possession of this vessel. The facts proved, will not sustain this claim. It appears in evidence, that these claimants found part of the Africans on shore, getting water and provisions. They traded with them and sold them two dogs, for a doubloon each, and then agreed to be there the next morning and take the vessel to *their* place. This was the understanding of Capt. Green, but as the evidence now appears, it was not the under-

standing of the negroes. Their hearts were set on Sierra Leone, and nothing short of sailing towards the sun, would serve their purpose. They had killed the captain and cook, to go to Sierra Leone. They had periled their own lives for Sierra Leone, and still Sierra Leone was on the lips of Jingua. I think the *actions* of the white men on the beach, evinced that they so understood this determination at the time. Otherwise they would not have had occasion to whistle off their dogs, when they had received for them the doubloons in hand. The result of the best examination which I have been able to bestow on this part of the case, is, that the libels of Messrs. Green and Fordham be dismissed.

The two great questions still remain to be settled. Shall these Africans, by a decree of this Court, be delivered over to the Government of Spain, upon the demand of her Minister as the property of Don Pedro Montez and Don Jose Ruiz? But if not, what ultimate disposition shall the Government of the United States make of them?

The other questions, in importance, cannot be compared with these. Here we have Her Majesty the Queen of Spain to her resident Minister, at the Court of the United States, unequivocally demanding for her subjects these Africans, as their property, in the fulfilment, as he says, of treaty stipulations, solemnly entered into by this nation. These Africans come in person, as our law permits them to do, denying this right. They say that they are not the slaves of Spanish subjects—and are not amenable to Spanish laws. We have also, the humanity of our own laws, ready to embrace them, provided we are not compelled by these treaty stipulations to deliver them up.

Upon the first of these questions, all absorbing as it is, I am called upon to pronounce an opinion. And what I have now to say applies to Jingua and others, who have filed their answer to the claim, on record, not including Antonio.

Shall these Africans be decreed to the Spanish Government?

What is the object of the demand made upon the President by the Spanish Minister? Not to have them transported to Cuba for punishment, but because they are the property of Spanish subjects—their effects, or merchandise which necessarily must be part of my decree, and upon which it must be based.

These are the facts that I find proved in this case.

In Cuba there are three classes of negroes,

well known and distinguished: *Creoles*, who were born within the Spanish dominion; *Ladinos*, who have been long domiciliated on the island, or sufficiently so, that the laws of Spain operate upon them—or in other words, embracing those who owe Spain their allegiance; and lastly, *Bozals*, embracing all such as have but recently been imported from Africa.

The negroes now in question were all born in Africa—they were imported to Cuba by the slave traffic, about which Montez and Ruiz had nothing to do—they were put into a barracoon near Havana, and after remaining there not exceeding 15 days, Montez and Ruiz brought them to the schooner *Amistad* as their slaves, and put them on board for Guanaja. Consequently, I find these negroes to be *Bozals*: they were so at the time of the shipment.

The demand of the Spanish government, is, for these *Bozals* to be restored to them, that Montez and Ruiz may have them as their property. To justify this demand, and require this government to restore them under the treaty, these negroes must not only be property, but Spanish subjects must have a *title* to that property. In other words Spanish subjects must own them—must come lawfully by them—they must have lawful right to hold them as their own. Suppose a slave should be demanded of us, by the Portuguese government, and it should appear in evidence that the slave in fact belonged to a citizen of South Carolina, we could not give him up to Portugal. Although he may be a slave, the Portuguese have no *title* in him. They cannot demand, nor we surrender. The right of demand and the necessity of surrender rests on the title to the property. *Property* and *title* both are to be made out.

In all cases where *property* and *title* are proved to be in Spanish subjects, the treaty is imperative, and at all hazards it must be surrendered. The obligations are solemn, and war might be the consequence of a breach of this duty on our part. I get up to the letter and spirit of the treaty both, but I do not step over it, merely because the demand is made by a high contracting power. The demand must be lawful. The Minister has demanded the schooner, and suppose in point of fact it should turn out that the schooner belonged to a subject of France, instead of Spain, can we deliver it to Spain? Surely not. How stands the case here. The government of Spain demand of us, under their treaty, a restoration of these negroes, and we ask them for their *title*. It is a very well settled prin-

ciple, here and elsewhere, that the party demanding restoration, must show his title—*The onus probandi lies on him.* Aware of this rule of the law, the Spanish claimants send to me their evidence or title. And what is that document. A deed—a bill of sale—a transfer? No. It is a *permit*—a *license*—a *pass*—signed by the Governor General of Cuba for Don Pedro Montez and Don Jose Ruiz to transport 54 *Ladinos* to Guanaja, and this is all! This embraces the whole evidence of property and title both. In point of fact, they are not *Ladinos*. They might be lawfully sold and carried to Guanaja. These negroes are *Bozals* and not *Ladinos*. Here then is the point—the point upon which this great controversy must turn!

To show that it is so, I shall be obliged to recur to the laws of Spain, as the same are here proved, because those laws make a part of the case itself. They are to be proved in the courts of the United States as matters of fact. This has been done on this inquiry, and this Court is just as competent to judge of the effect of a foreign law, when thus proved, as of a law of the United States.

I find then as a matter of fact, that in the month of June, 1839, the law of Spain did prohibit under severe penalty the importation into Cuba of negroes from Africa. These negroes were imported in violation of that law, and be it remembered, that by the same law of Spain, such imported negroes are declared to be free in Spain. This accounts for the declaration of the Spanish Consul, "that if these negroes should be returned to Cuba, some of the leaders might be punished, *but none of them could be made slaves.*" This declaration is in exact conformity with the law of Spain, so far as the matter of slavery is concerned. They could not be free slaves there, because the law declares them free. They were *Bozals*, and not slaves. This declaration is from a government functionary of Spain.—Why then should the law be doubted by me? I do not doubt it. I do expressly find it to be such. If there has been any doubt, as to what the law of Spain is, I ask, would not the Spanish Minister resident at Washington, have communicated the law to this government, so that it might have been sent here?

We are bound to believe, that the Minister of every foreign country, brings with him the laws of his sovereign, and is able, on the shortest notice, to make those laws known to us, when questions may arise. Between nations, it is not required that every matter of form should be strictly complied with. In the intercourse of friendly nations, the *substance* is

all that is required. Why has not the Spanish Minister told us that a law exists, by which *Bozal* negroes are slaves in Cuba? Why has he not sent us that law, with *his claim*? Ample time has been afforded. He knows that the burthen of proof lies with him, and still withholds the law, if it does exist! How can he expect an American Court to decree that these negroes are property, while he omits to produce the evidence which makes them such. In reply it may be said they were in *possession* of Spanish subjects. But possession is only one indicium of property, and that has been rebutted by the proof that these are *Bozal* negroes, and cannot be made property, by any machinery of sale, or transportation.

This brings me to the question of title in Montez and Ruiz, who now claim them through their government,—though they do not come into Court, in person, yet they do come in the majesty of their Sovereign. They need not come in person, and if they do, they may stand aside and put forward the shield of regal authority, as they do in this case. But this establishes no title to property. Suppose I admit that slaves are property, yet Montez and Ruiz must possess the title in themselves. They have furnished no proof of payment,—they have shown no bill of sale,—no witness has sworn that he was present when these negroes were sold. They have not shown us from whom they derive their title. It is the naked possession on which they rely. When the right is disputed this is not enough.

Suppose a gentleman in Mississippi hires a slave of his neighbor for one year, as a traveling servant, and while in Kentucky sells him? He had the possession too, but he conveys no title, for it is the law of every country, in the civilized world, that a man must have title before he can grant it to another. Were a gentleman of N. Haven to rent me his house and give me the possession, and another person from Havana should come here and take a deed of that house from me, *he* would gain nothing by the grant, for the simple reason I had no right to grant. This is so plain that the feeblest intellect cannot but see it.

How does the Spanish Minister fill up this chasm in the evidence? how does he link together this chain of title? By nothing else, except the Governor General's *Passo*, and this has before been commented upon. Now that official document is to serve the double purpose of proving property and title both: and yet when we look on it again, and apply to it our judicial test, if the expression may be allowed, we find that instrument still is for *Ladinos*, and not *Bozals*. It contains on its

face, an untruth. The Governor General has not given a pass for these negroes! and, consequently these *Bozals* stand on the deck of the *L'Amistad* without any *passo* whatever.

Why did they not ascertain that these negroes were *Bozals*? This has been the source of all their complicated sufferings, the tale of which will make the stoutest heart bleed! Why did they not ascertain that the law of Spain had declared these objects of their purchase not slaves? The secret is told in a word. In Cuba it is the custom to buy such negroes, and ship them as *Ladinos* or *Creoles*; and there respectable men have grown up under the influence of this custom; this practice against law. The subjects of a foreign government are presumed, however, to know what their own laws are, and when broken, they cannot come here and ask us to invade the rights of others, in justification of the breach of their own laws. This would not be done even there. Hence the Spanish Consul says this mode of "*bona fide*" selling, is carried on without notice from the local authorities. Not that the act is lawful, in itself, but only because the act is passed over. There is wealth and power on one side, and ignorance and weakness on the other. The law is the same there as I pronounce it here. That it is not well executed, is no evidence that the law does not exist. Let a case be presented to the Courts in Spain, and the proof be made as it is here; and the result must inevitably be the same.

This may be too obvious to require illustration. No one can set up, in a court of justice, an *illegal custom* against positive law. One prime requisite of a custom is, that it should be lawful. The *Press-Gang* system in England is against positive law. Every British subject, by law, is secured in his liberty. It is their boast; yet when the minister wants a thousand men for the navy, the *Press-gang* is put in motion. They seize and confine men, and tear them away from their wives and children by force, and put them into servitude against their will! Oppress and confine! And who will not say that these *Press-gangs* are actually paid by British gold, for their illegal depredations upon the sanctuary of home and liberty; and that too, directly or indirectly, from the treasury of the nation? It is a *custom*, and has been for one hundred years, and yet, will any one claim that it is legal? Let the "King's Bench" pass upon this question, and it will be adjudged against law. It may be winked at in Parliament, and stifled in public opinion, while their emissaries are sent here to teach us what liberty is, yet *that is*

slavery! degrading slavery, and can never, no, never legalise the *custom*.

Shall these *Bozals* be given up under the treaty? And if so, for what purpose? To have the question tried there, whether they are slaves by the laws of Spain!! The Spanish law declares they are not slaves; it would be utterly useless, then, to send them to Cuba. It would only be a work of *su-gation*. If by *their* own laws, they *can* slave them, then it follows of necessity cannot be demanded. When these known by the Spanish Minister, he discover, that the subjects of his *Qu* acquired no rights in these men—they are not the *property* of Spain. His demand must be withdrawn. The very essence of his demand consists in the supposed Spanish right of property in the thing demanded. That being removed, *by his own law* there can no longer be cause of complaint.

At all events, this cannot be expected at my hands, because the Supreme Court have always refused to surrender property, unless *there was proof of title in the claimants*. The same rule applies equally to foreign and domestic claimants. *Title* must be shown in the property claimed, as belonging to the claimant, or it cannot be surrendered. The positions I have laid down here, are fully recognised in the *Antelope*, 10 Wheaton 66. The argument of the Attorney General in that case, sanctioned as it is by the able opinion of the Chief Justice, affords me full confidence that I am right.

The strongest case which can possibly be adduced for the surrender, is the *La Jenne Eugenie* in the 2d of Mason. There a French ship, engaged in the slave-trade, was brought into the Massachusetts District and libeled. The French Minister made a demand of the vessel, and she was surrendered by Judge Story. But in that case the *property* was admitted to be in *French citizens*. They, themselves, were claimants against their own government, and both sides agreed that it was French property. The Judge did right in surrendering it. But there is a great distinction between the two cases. *Here* the right of property is not only the principal contest, but I find clearly that the right of property is not in any Spanish subject whatever. The cases then are dissimilar in principle. Had *this* case, as in *that*, found the right of property in the claimant, I should have gone the whole length and breadth of that decision, and restored the property.

This case is ample authority to that extent: and to show that I abide by the treaty, and

that authority, I take another branch of this case. Antonio is demanded, and the proof from him is, that he is a Creole—born, as he believes, in Spain; he *was*, at the time his master was murdered by Jingua, a slave, so recognised and known by the laws of Spain. The property in him, was in Rayman Ferrer, a Spanish subject, at the time of his death on the schooner, and now is in *his* legal hands. Here is both property and right of property in Spanish subjects. I shall decree the sale of this slave, under the treaty of 1795, or this likewise, I find authority in the case adjudged by the Supreme Court, from which I have neither power nor inclination to depart.

The question remains: What disposition shall be made of these negroes by the government of the United States?

There is a law of Congress, passed the 3d of March, 1819, which renders it essential that all such Africans as these should be transported, under the direction of the President of the United States to Africa. The humane and excellent provisions of this Act, characterize the period when it was adopted. Among the prominent provisions of Congress to ameliorate the condition of Africans brought away from their homes in this traffic, which is spoken of and believed to be odious, is this act of 1819. Considering the object embraced within these provisions, the statute itself must receive the most liberal and generous construction. Those technicalities of construction, which pertain to another class of acts, do not belong to this act. Those rules which govern courts in deciding on *penal acts*, are to find no place by the side of this statute. They must govern no mind employed in carrying out the noble intentions of the framers of this law. What is the spirit of that act? It is to return to the land of their nativity, all such Africans as may have been brought from thence wrongfully. This being the spirit of that act, I stop not in the mere form of legislation. I do not wait to consider whether every letter and syllable of that act has been followed by the officers of the law. When the spirit of goodness is hovering over us, just descending to bless, it is immaterial in what garments we are clad to receive the blessing.

I do not maintain this construction upon my own mere suggestion, but I shall be able to show, by a recent determination of the Supreme Court of the United States, that the door has already been opened, and the passage already provided, to send these men back to their own Africa. That if the aspirations of these unfortunate beings have been heard to rise for Sierra Leone, the law of that country

into which they have been cast has provided the means, and already the Supreme Court have, in their profoundest wisdom, given a construction to that law which bids them God speed.

The 2d Sec. of the Act of March 3d, 1819, is as follows:

"That the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorised to make such regulation and arrangements as he may deem expedient, for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes," &c. &c.

The 1st Section of the law of 1818 is left still in force, by the repealing clause of this act. Hence we must go to the law of 1818, and connecting it with the Act of 1819, ascertain whether *these* Africans are within the spirit of this supervising care.

This Act of 1818, provides "that from and after its passage, it shall not be lawful to *import or bring in ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER*, into the United States, or territories thereof, from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto or person of color, with intent to hold any such negro as a slave, or to hold to service or labor any such person."

(To be continued.)

NATURAL LAWS.

Divine wisdom has instituted certain laws requiring man's strict obedience: and in the same proportion that we live up to them, or depart from them, do we augment our own happiness or misery.

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Rev. JACOB RHODES has been appointed general agent of the Society, and is fully authorized to lecture and form auxiliaries, to collect funds in aid of the Society's operations, and subscriptions for the 'Reformer.'

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